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TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

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THE

CAPITAL OF THE TYCOON

A NARRATIVE OF A

THREE YEARS' RESIDENCE IN JAPAN.

BY SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, K.C.B.

HER MAJESTY'S ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND
MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY IN JAPAN.

Look ye! master Traveller: unless ye note something worth the seeing, and come home wiser than ye went, I would'nt give a stag's horn for all your travels.'
OLD PLAY.

WITH MAPS AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS IN CHROMOLITHOGRAPHY AND ON WOOD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, & GREEN.
1863.

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TO

SIR JOHN F. DAVIS, BART., K.C.B.

My dear Sir John,

The age of formal dedications and stilted prefaces has long passed away, and it may safely be assumed that they ceased to be written, because the public ceased to read them. As often happens in like cases, all parties gained by the arrangement; and I have no intention whatever of reviving an obsolete custom. Yet something in the nature of an introduction is often a great advantage both to the writer and the reader; and I think in the present instance the latter will turn the pages over with more satisfaction, if the circumstances under which the book has been written and the principal objects kept in view by the writer are first understood.

In determining to write a few introductory remarks for the benefit of those who, like yourself, will take up the book for what it may contain, and in a letter to your address, I am glad of the opportunity thus afforded me of saying publicly, that to no one could such a work on Japan as it has been my aim to supply, have been more fitly dedicated, on public grounds, than to the author of the best and only popular work we possess on the Chinese Empire; and the first who succeeded in

making the subject familiar to readers in general. While on personal grounds, to whom could I more appropriately have addressed this latest fruit of my labours in the East, than to the chief under whom I first commenced my career in those regions, now nearly twenty years ago? Or to one whose interest in those outlying empires of the far East has never flagged; and who I am quite sure, will read this new contribution to our information on the Japanese, with all the attention the most earnest and conscientious writer could desire.

You will soon perceive that I have not written merely for amusement—either my own or the reader's —and yet I should be sorry to think that amusement may not be found in its pages; for if I hesitate to adopt in its fullest sense the French axiom, '*tous les genres sont bons hors le genre ennuyeux*,' I am quite sure, that he who wearies never convinces or persuades, and I desire to do both. With the best intention, however, there have been many difficulties to overcome in the effort to give to the public a work calculated to satisfy the desire for something novel and instructive concerning the Japanese Empire. To write anything that should be worth reading, and yet not trench upon the rule of official reserve, in all matters not open to public discussion, was in itself a difficulty independent of every other. It might have been easy to put a new face on things old and familiar, but this did not enter into my plan. In drawing up this narrative of a three years' residence at the Court of the Tycoon, I had, on the contrary, two objects more especially in view, neither of which could be attained by any such procedure. The one was to give the results of a careful study of the singular people among whom my lot had been cast,

and thus, if possible, supply a great deficiency in our knowledge, from personal observation and original sources;—the other, to throw some light, however faint and broken, on the conditions of all Western diplomacy in its struggles with Eastern character and Eastern policy. The latter was in some degree new ground, and had therefore the recommendation of novelty; but it had also a disadvantage attaching, which you will readily appreciate from having occupied a similar official position. Narratives of missions to distant countries, and to Eastern Courts more particularly, have often before appeared, it is true, written either avowedly by the Envoys themselves, or by the Secretaries, with their sanction and materials. Indeed, to these sources the world is chiefly indebted for most of the information we actually possess at the present day, of countries which lie out of the beaten track of Western diplomacy. But, in the majority of these cases, the writers had retired from the scene of their labours, and were not likely therefore to be brought in contact again with those whose acts they may have described. And I should probably have hesitated, had it not seemed important to furnish materials for a right judgement, in matters of national concern connected with Japan and our relations there,—while it might yet be time to avert, by the intelligent appreciation of our true situation, grievous disappointment as well as increased complications and great calamities. A free expression of opinion in matters of public interest is not to be lightly adventured upon however; and, in many cases, those holding office are altogether precluded from such action. At the same time much mischief is often done by undue reticence in matters which must, in a country like ours, be the subject of

public discussion. It so happened, that I was relieved from any difficulty under this head, by the publication *in extenso* of the greater number of my despatches, which were printed and laid before Parliament. And not only was the necessity for silence obviated by such publication in this country, but a similar course was followed at Washington, in respect to the despatches of my colleague, the American Minister, during the same period. As in each of these series there is a very unreserved expression of opinion as to the political situation of the country, the action of the Japanese authorities, the views entertained by Colleagues, and the conduct of the Foreign communities,—the decision of the respective Governments of both countries, to make the despatches public, and this so freely as to leave little of a confidential character unprinted, effectually removed all the impediments which might otherwise have existed. Secret diplomacy is a favourite taunt of our Transatlantic cousins when criticising European institutions and government; but in so far as Great Britain is concerned, it would be difficult to show any nation, not even the Americans themselves, less open to the reproach. The discussion of public affairs in both Houses of Parliament, the free expression of opinion on the most delicate questions affecting our international relations, and the ample information required in Parliament, and given by the heads of departments, both verbally and in Blue Books — are all so many refutations of any charge of this nature, and result so naturally and unavoidably from our popular form of government, that nothing really secret or confidential, can well remain in the archives of any public office. With such documents and information before the public in regard to Japanese affairs, there-

fore, there could be little room for indiscretion in any further contributions on the same subject. You will accordingly find no transaction of an official character touched upon in these pages and no opinion expressed on the progress of events, the policy these seemed to indicate, or the people with whom I came in contact in my official capacity, that can take anyone by surprise as new, or that has not already been in print. But, as regards the reading public, I do not think that circumstance will in any degree deprive the work of its claims to novelty. Blue Books are often full of valuable matter, but they do not generally find a place among the popular literature of the day. A process of distillation and transmutation has first to take place, through the leaders of the daily press and the pages of periodicals, before they become fit food for the million; and something of this kind I have endeavoured to accomplish here in respect to our political relations. The same leading facts will be found in both, but not in the same digestible shape or form. As regards the Japanese authorities, my Colleagues, or the Foreign communities in Japan, I repeat there is nothing in my opinions, as here narrated, which has not been freely spoken on the spot; or that could well be unknown to any of the parties immediately concerned, even if not already in print. Those opinions may not always be flattering, either to the Japanese or to others; and I do not expect they will be liked; but I have great faith in honesty of purpose and absence of malice, and these must be my justification, now as heretofore. Truth I believe to be far less dangerous to those who have the courage to utter it, than misapprehension or misrepresentation. I have never disguised from the Japanese authorities, as my published despatches prove, the opinions I entertained

of their proceedings towards Foreigners from time to time, and the unsatisfactory course of action generally pursued. If I have spoken in these pages of the authorities generally, the system of government, and more especially their policy towards Foreigners, honestly, according to my knowledge and convictions; I told them on the spot quite as honestly and plainly what those convictions were. And yet I had conclusive evidence, at the hour of my departure, that they appreciated the fairness of my dealings, and trusted me, more absolutely and entirely, than I could have believed possible, without such unmistakeable proof as they spontaneously gave me. Nor will the two things seem incompatible to anyone who has had much experience of Asiatics. You must often have seen, in your long intercourse with Easterns, how unfailingly they learn, in spite of their own habitual want of veracity, to trust in the truth and respect the honesty of one of our race, if after some intercourse they find that he will not stoop to trickery or falsehood for any temporary advantage either may give.

So much for the official difficulties of my task. But these were not the only ones to be encountered. The incorrigible tendency of the Japanese to withhold from Foreigners or disguise the truth on all matters great and small; and consequently the absence of reliable information on almost every subject necessary to the full elucidation of their character, institutions, and system of government, constituted another obstacle.

In the following work I have only sought, therefore, to render a faithful account of what I observed, with better opportunities as a resident Minister in the capital than had been enjoyed by any previous writer on Japan. But having studied the practical working of the Government

machinery — the policy adopted in relation to Foreigners, and the action of hostile parties among the privileged classes, I believed I might bring some useful materials to aid the consideration of our own interests. On the other hand, the narrative I have given of all the trials and difficulties which surround a Diplomatic Agent in such a field is calculated, I hope and believe, to throw some new light on questions which, of all others, have most engrossed public attention of late years in connection with our Eastern relations, namely, what are the essential and inherent conditions attaching to all Western diplomacy in the East? What are the necessities and exigencies — with our will, or against it — which govern our action? Lastly, what are the limits within which we may reasonably look for success in our efforts to amalgamate two conflicting civilisations, and open new markets for our manufactures, without resort to force, or coercive means of any kind? While discussing these delicate questions, I have carefully avoided expressing any opinion of my own as to the policy actually to be followed; and confined myself to a statement of the probable or inevitable conditions of different courses of action which might be suggested, as matters in the abstract perfectly open to discussion. In my position it is not for me either to prescribe or to advocate in these pages a particular policy. My business is to afford the best information in my power, and in office to carry out such instructions as I may receive.

With the details of my daily life, and the leading events which marked the first three years of a permanent Legation in the capital of the Tycoon, you will see I have mingled illustrations of the life, manners, and customs of the Japanese of all classes — from the Feudal Prince with

his two-sworded henchmen and retainers, to the humble and peace-loving peasant. With many of these I came more or less constantly in contact, and sometimes under unlooked-for and striking circumstances. The relations between the different classes was always a subject of great interest to me, and in my journeys through the interior I had many opportunities, not otherwise attainable, of studying them with advantage. I trust, therefore, the work upon the whole is not likely to disappoint any reader who seeks information on the character of the people, their daily life, manners and customs. And as giving many curious glimpses of the working of their laws, their peculiar system of government and a masked policy, something of interest may also be found. In so far as these are true revelations they cannot well fail to be acceptable to many. To you it will be readily enough apparent, that I have sought especially to lay bare the inherent difficulties under which all commercial and diplomatic relations with the far East, for many years to come at least, must be maintained, if maintained at all; and the risks to be encountered in any efforts to open new markets in these regions. On this part of the subject exact information has long been much needed. Nor do I think any Government can lose by the truth being known. Neither the Japanese Government, which may seem the most damaged by these expositions of their habitual course (founded, as I believe, in partial ignorance of certain immutable conditions) fraught with danger to them and to us,—nor Her Majesty's Government, which (in equal ignorance of those same inevitable and inseparable conditions) is sometimes expected or required to effect impossibilities. There will always be pressure upon any government of the day in a manu-

facturing country like ours, to open new markets and impose new treaties upon Eastern races; while, on the other hand, there will also be a strong pressure, from motives of economy and philanthropy, either separate or combined, to keep the peace and avoid Eastern complications. Can both these objects be reconciled, or are they wholly and absolutely incompatible? That is a question which it behoves all parties to answer rightly and with full knowledge. Governments are often made responsible for results which no government in the world can prevent. This is especially true in regard to the relations of Western with Eastern Powers; and if the natural causes at work were better understood, or the laws which govern them, there would not only be less chance of injustice, but very much less disappointment. Perhaps, too, less eagerness for Treaty relations with Eastern races, wholly unprepared to enter into them in any spirit of reciprocity and goodwill. But to exercise any good influence in this direction, beneficial alike to governments and subjects, it was obviously necessary to state the truth in sufficient fullness and detail to carry conviction, as well as to give needful information. There is in truth no alternative between this and saying nothing. Any partial, mutilated, or half-statements of the real state of affairs, and the influences in operation, would be worse than none at all; — because, while there would be a pretence of giving information; the account so given could only tend to mislead. I have told all I thought necessary, therefore, without a doubt as to the benefit such true knowledge of Eastern politics and conditions of intercourse is calculated to bring in its train; — and without fear, I will add, of being held cen-

surable, for clearing the way to a better appreciation of the difficulties inherent in, and inseparable from all political and commercial relations with Eastern tribes and potentates. Both the nations and their Rulers have as yet everything to learn of the principles which govern relations between Western Powers, and are apt to make very sad blunders — sad in their immediate consequences to them and to us — while learning their lesson and gaining some faint notion of the first principles of international law. Public opinion in a country constitutionally governed as this is, must always be felt, and exercise a strong influence on any government in power; it is the more necessary, therefore, that it should be a right opinion, enlightened and guided by knowledge, and not a blind judgement based upon ignorance or misapprehension. The actual existence of danger and risk of collision, wherever there is intercourse established between the East and West,—and whatever may be the desire for peace on the part of European Governments or the efforts of their Representatives on the spot,—is only beginning to be recognised; while many still doubt the fact, and are disposed to lay all such untoward complications at the door of the agents employed. If I succeed in removing some erroneous impressions under this head, and in giving more full and authentic information as to the present state of Japan than has hitherto been attainable, I shall be well content; for with this object principally I sat down to write.

It is scarcely necessary to tell you, that this has no pretension whatever to be considered an exhaustive book on Japan. Not only would such a work in my opinion be unavoidably tedious, but I have a perfect conviction no foreigner is yet, or will be for many years to

come, in a position to write it. Nevertheless, having had better opportunities of observation than anyone, perhaps, since the Portuguese and Spaniards wandered at large through the Empire,—and travelled and seen more with my own eyes, I may, without much presumption, hope to have something to communicate that shall be both new and true of the people of Japan,—of their language and habits, as well as their political and social condition.

Although I had long forsworn all regular journalising, yet on my arrival in Japan, conscious how impressions fade, and opinions change; and how impossible it often becomes in after years to retrace and compare them, as aids to a final judgement, I began and continued from day to day, as circumstances presented themselves seemingly worthy of attention, to make certain fragmentary notes of men and things during my long residence in the capital and my several journeys and voyages. I was not, therefore, without a rough chart of the road I had traversed, and landmarks jotted down on the spot, fresh with the impress of the hour.

Many of these brief and informal records of things or events I found on looking back, were much more pregnant of suggestion than they had appeared at the time, and calculated incidentally to throw a reflected light on Japanese character and institutions. It has been my purpose, therefore, to preserve as far as possible these first impressions, and unstudied touches of the pencil, with such corrections and amplifications only, as later experience and fuller knowledge may have enabled me to supply. For this reason principally, I resolved to give any book I should write the form of a narrative, and arrange in chronological order my residence and its

experiences. If this has some disadvantages to those who would desire a more systematic and scientific treatise on the History, Government, and Institutions of Japan, it has the advantage of imparting something of a living, if not a personal, interest to the whole.

The narrative I have given would have a certain interest, I conceive, if all other were wanting, as a contrast to the pleasant and amusing account furnished by Mr. Oliphant of Lord Elgin's mission; and to that previously supplied by Commodore Perry's expedition. Both sides of the medal give important revelations. The history of the Extraordinary Missions show the Japanese rulers under the pressure of a sudden danger and emergency for which they felt fully unprepared. Submission to the exigencies of Western Powers, which some inexorable fate seemed to have let slip upon their devoted country; or resistance with arms in their hands, seemed the only alternatives. The Japanese did, under these circumstances, what almost every Eastern race has done in presence of a superior force. They negotiated and treated, because they felt unprepared to fight. They smiled and dissimulated, employing their utmost skill to give as little as possible; and reserving to themselves the full right hereafter of nullifying all they might feel compelled for the time to surrender. The Foreign negotiators went away well pleased with their easy victories. The Japanese Plenipotentiaries retired in disgrace; — while their successors in the Government deeply meditated, in the interval before the arrival of the permanent Legations, upon a policy of negation, accepting the letter, but determined on resistance *à l'outrance* to the spirit of the treaties. It naturally followed that the Diplomatic Agents first appointed to take up their residence in the capital, were beset with difficulties, dangers,

and disappointments from the hour of their arrival. Their predecessors, the Ambassadors Extraordinary, had only to extort certain privileges on paper; it was the business of the resident Ministers to make of these paper-concessions realities—practical, every-day realities. As this was the very thing the Rulers of the country had determined to prevent, it cannot be matter of wonder that there was not, and never could be, any real accord, whatever the outward professions of good faith and amity. Hence also it naturally followed that, although the original negotiators were received with smiles, and their path was strewn with flowers; their successors had only the poisoned chalice held to their lips, thorns in their path, and the scowl of the two-sworded bravos and Samourai to welcome them, whenever they ventured to leave their gates — while the assassin haunted their steps, and broke their rest in the still hours of the night, with fell intent to massacre a whole Legation.

No wonder two authorities so differently placed should see Japan from different points of view and in a wholly different light! The history of the first permanent Legations was needful to complete and give the true interpretation to that of the first special Embassies. And this I have endeavoured to give, faithfully and candidly, in the following chapters. The French have a whole class of literature entitled '*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire*,' which, without aiming at the gravity and authority of history, furnishes nevertheless the most valuable materials for it. In this category I would place my narrative of a three years' experience in Japan. It has been said that 'the experiment, now on its trial, of allowing a free circulation of the European within the frontier which for the last two hundred years has been steadily barred against all

intrusive strangers whatsoever, is in its circumstances one of the most singular in the known history of the world.' To a certain extent undoubtedly it may be so considered. But it will only prove either interesting or instructive in so far as the true details of the experiment are known, and these could only be given by a narration of the events, day by day, which marked the unceasing struggle between Western diplomacy and Eastern policy. Nor could it have answered any useful purpose to have deferred this until all the present actors were in their graves. On the contrary, it must be obvious that any object of utility could only be attained by giving the information at once.

Again it has been observed, that those who live in the nineteenth century are familiar 'with the difficulties of fusing into a harmonious coexistence the progressive developement of an inferior people, and the immediate interests of a superior, where an obviously higher and lower phase of civilisation intersect each other.' Whether our civilisation is so undoubtedly higher, and in what degree, I have seriously examined in the Chapter devoted to the 'Civilisation of the Japanese,'—and perhaps the conclusions to which I have been led may be little in accordance with some stereotyped notions of what the actual civilisation of Europe is;—as well as of the feasibility of the undertaking to effect any fusion with the East in a single generation or by exclusively peaceable means. But I have given, with a conscientiousness of inquiry and amount of detail, which, I fear, may be tedious to many, the various grounds for my opinion; and am thus content to leave both questions to all who choose to give the requisite attention for their impartial investigation. Whatever may be the relative merits and rank of the

two civilisations there can be no question that we are the stronger race—stronger in all the means and appliances of science and war. And if we fall into active antagonism, of which there has been a constant danger, despite the best efforts of European Diplomacy to avert it as a great national calamity, there can be just as little doubt that the Japanese would be over-matched and vanquished. But yet, under the simple relation of conquered and conquerors, looking to the difference of race and character, and the striking contrast in purpose, mental constitution, and appreciation of each other—the struggle once over there could be no possible *fusion*. The attraction would seem to be wanting, powerful enough to blend in cohesion the elements on which a mixed or amalgamated civilisation could be based. We cannot hope or desire to absorb their civilisation as the Spaniards did that of the Mexicans. There seems as little hope of their spontaneously fusing into their own, such of the elements of ours as might best combine with it. Failing these, we are left face to face with an insoluble problem, involving the welfare and the destinies of a nation of thirty millions of as industrious, kindly, and well-disposed people as any in the world. Towards the solution, I bring only such data as years of constant effort in the midst of all the conflicting forces could supply. Time, the great solver of all riddles, is needed to come to our aid. But as the record of a novel experience, throwing some light on the difficulties and dangers which beset all attempts to enter into new relations with an isolated Eastern race, I trust it may be read with some interest. More especially is the field new, because with the Japanese we take a step backward some ten centuries, to live over again the Feudal days. We read our own past in Japanese history. Feudalism, so seem-

ingly after time and out of place, is here, with sufficient identity and analogy in all its leading features to make the coincidence striking; and yet with sufficient divergence to make its study in this Eastern phase deeply interesting. Perhaps the following pages may suggest some useful reflections as to how the dangers incident to, and apparently inseparable from, such an experiment as we are now engaged in, may be best encountered. In any case it will be seen Feudalism lies full in our path. We must either conciliate it—or hold our own against its most hostile efforts.

I would gladly have given a full and complete history of the Japanese Empire, and its internal organisation, but I feel—perhaps more strongly in consequence of my favoured position in the country—how difficult, not to say impossible, it must be with only such opportunities of observation as Europeans have hitherto enjoyed, to accomplish such an object. It has been said that 'it is the homes of a people that shape and mould the character of a nation'—and I believe it: but if so, what can we *know* of the homes of the Japanese? Of the lower classes we see something, since their homes are all more or less open to the street. In their daily habits and mode of life, there can be very little of mystery or secrecy. But of the higher classes, who has ever seen an interior? Such is the rigid rule of a jealous oligarchy, headed by a nominally despotic sovereign, that the Daimios may not even visit each other; as the Ministers one day took occasion to assure me in reference to those who sat side by side with them in the presence chamber. Friends and colleagues though they were, they might not cross each other's threshold—not being blood relations. Whether anything in the shape of domesticity therefore exists—whether there are living

springs of thought, or elements of progress and elevation in their homes — who can say? Are the home influences purifying or demoralising? Are the relations of husband and wife, brother and sister, such as we know them in Europe? Who is in a position to offer anything more than a guess? It has been said of the Moslem that 'he has no home, no real relationship of father and mother, son and daughter, as we understand such ties: the harem is a stye, woman a mere animal, and man but the sensual proprietor of both; while the children are a miserable litter.' Is this a fair picture of a Japanese establishment also? Probably not. We see and know much that leads us to conclude something different and better exists: but what that something is, must be very much a matter of guess, founded upon inference from the few facts that we do know. Yet all this is vastly more important and more interesting in reference to their place in the family of nations, their civilisation and future prospects, than any framework of government and public administration. As much more important as the growth and developement of internal organisation and conditions of being in plants or animals, is of greater consequence than mere external forms. The home relations are mainly the product of influences developed under their own roof-tree, which no forms of government can materially or permanently control. Whether the same may with equal truth be said of any foreign importation of ideas, or how far these may be capable of materially affecting the mental constitution and social relations of a people, in a few years or a single generation, may be a question. The Japanese Rulers evidently have already considered it, and arrived at a decision in the affirmative. Hence one great cause of implacable hostility. They see in this introduction of

foreign ideas a leaven, a cause of fermentation, and a germ of revolution.

In looking to the future of the Japanese Empire, and our relations with the people, it behoves us above all things, I conceive, to obtain a knowledge of the more intimate family relations existing among them. And after that, it imports us no less to know the true character of the existing feudalism. The relations between the serf and his feudal chief, and of both these to the suzerain and executive government, which in Japan is divided and strangely duplicated, are no less needed. These are the keys wherewith to unlock the mysteries of their policy, and the secret of their vitality as a nation. When we can really know what they now are, not in mere outward lineaments, but in their whole being, habits of thought and principles of action, we shall be better able to form a correct opinion as to what they are likely to become, in one or several generations from the present time. Whether there be any germs of a vigorous growth in their cities, any cradle for a new and more advanced race in their homesteads:— any moral stimulants existing among the masses which may waken up a new life, and give a greater impetus to the energies of the many, in the direction of a higher and more progressive civilisation —these are the questions which constantly recur to the mind of a patient observer, and press upon him for answer, long before he sees any means of arriving at sufficient data, whereon to found a conclusion.

I have scrupulously endeavoured to write my own thoughts, without reference to what may have been said by others on the same subject before. In the illustrations alone, I have freely borrowed, and when my

own sketch-book failed to meet the want of the hour, I turned to the portfolios of my friends, and sometimes to their photographic labours; but these, also, in so far as the public are concerned, are entirely new and original, and were all taken on the spot, under my own eye. Some of these, from the pencil of Mr. Wergman, have a merit peculiarly their own, both in artistic treatment and fidelity; and for the admirable manner in which they have been reproduced, both on stone and wood — on the latter more especially, scattered, as these are, through both volumes in great number, I feel especially indebted to Mr. Pearson. The facsimiles of numerous Japanese wood-cuts which I placed in his hands, could hardly be surpassed in fidelity and effect.

With these preliminary remarks, which will at least have answered the purpose of preparing you for some of the information, and many of the views to be found in the following pages,— and, perhaps, of saving the reader from disappointment at the absence of many things I do not pretend to give, I leave the book, such as it is, to your judgement, and to that of the public for whom it was written. It has been undertaken in the hope of supplying information not easily obtained, but very necessary to any right appreciation of the relations of Europe with the eastern half of Asia — with China and Japan more especially. And the present state as well as the future prospects of both countries in connection with the West have become, within the last few years, subjects of such importance to the British Empire, in connection with both trade and revenue, that no exact information can well be unacceptable. On these subjects I shall find in you a competent judge, and a critic

neither blinded by hostility nor biassed by partiality—and to such the book is in all sincerity addressed. In the hope, that its perusal may not be wholly without pleasure or profit, believe me,

My dear Sir John,

Very faithfully yours,

RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

LONDON: *January* 21, 1863.

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ERRATA.

Page	Line	Correction
11	30	*for* Bogue forts *read* Barrier forts
16	1	*for* 60,000 *read* 90,000
17	13	*for* 1200 *read* 1700
21	9	in note, *for* four *read* six
42	27	*for* Tam Kwang *read* Keenlung, and *for* father *read* grandfather
144, 376		*for* Appendix A *read* Appendix B
232		*for* Appendix E *read* Appendix D
314, 325		*for* Appendix C *read* Appendix E

COREA
JAPAN

A NARRATIVE

OF

THREE YEARS' RESIDENCE IN JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

FROM CHINA TO JAPAN.

PREVISIONS AND PREPARATIONS — A GLANCE AT CANTON — HONG-KONG AND MACAO, WITH THEIR CONTRASTED DESTINIES — SHANGHAE — THE YANGTZE AND THE CHINESE EMPIRE — THE PAST AND THE FUTURE.

IN consequence of the treaty entered into with the government of the Tycoon by the Earl of Elgin in 1858, it became necessary to establish a permanent diplomatic mission in Japan; and it was yet early in the spring of the following year when I received, at Canton, the first intimation of my appointment as its head. To me, as to the rest of the world probably at this period, Japan was all but a *terra incognita*. No very definite ideas, indeed, could well be attached to a country so long and so completely isolated. Time and distance had done much to efface the memory of whatever had once been learned by personal observation, of a people who for the last three centuries had resolutely shut their doors, not only in their neighbours' faces, but on all mankind. Even in China, separated only by a narrow sea which

steamers now cross in three days, little that was either positive or accurate could be learned. In 1846, when residing at Foochow, a port which every alternate year received a junk from the Loochoo Islands, a dependency of Japan, I endeavoured to get into communication with the natives who came over in it. Neither my official position nor personal efforts availed, however. The policy of both races—Chinese and Japanese—to exclude and avoid the foreigner, was too perfectly in accord to allow of success. And these were the people I was now destined to live among! Nearly lost in the haze of a distant horizon, Japan, if not wholly forgotten, had become invested with a sort of traditional and mythic character. The quaint phraseology of the early English navigators, as stereotyped by Purchas, in which the first narratives of voyages to Japan and things Japanese are written, had given a mediæval colouring to all our knowledge of the country and the people. Nor was this much affected by the more lively descriptions, and easy flowing Italian of the noble Venetian, Marco Paolo; the solace of whose prison hours in Genoa was to recount to his visitors all the wonders he had seen and heard of at the court of Genghis Khan; and among the latter were these 'Isles washed by stormy seas—and abounding in gold and pearls.' But Marco *Millione* (a title which the marvellous nature of his stories earned him among his countrymen), was, in regard to Japan, only a narrator of what he had heard from the Chinese; and the account taken down from his dictation by one of his friends, did not appear in print for nearly two centuries after his death. Mendez Pinto, who wrote much later of what he had seen (or said he had seen), when he gave his adventures to the world in Portuguese, found no translator, in those days at least, nor since that I am aware of. One of the earliest who followed in the track of Vasco da Gama round the Cape, he was cast on the shores of Japan by stress of weather, and had to make out the best story he could of his past history and pursuits. Merchant, pirate, or filibuster, by

turns, and as occasion served, he appears to have found it by no means an easy task to get himself accepted by his hosts as an honest trader. But he found materials enough while on the Chinese and Japanese coasts, with the aid of a little invention perhaps, for a large folio, which I remember disinterring from the back shop of an old book collector in Lisbon, more than twenty years before my departure for the East. Some of it I read at the time in the original, little dreaming I should ever visit the place this 'Prince of liars'* invested with such strange features and peculiarities. By a no less strange coincidence, my Japanese education had been continued many years later when an occasional visitor at the Monastery of *Sicawei* near Shanghai, by a fragmentary course of the '*Japanese Martyrs*'—such being the title of one of the pious works, which, according to the custom of the order, are always read aloud by a member of the fraternity during dinner. How little we are aware to what future use knowledge picked up in the most fortuitous way may be applied! From these various sources, materials had been casually got together for the dissolving views which rapidly flitted before my mental vision as I held the despatch in my hand, consigning me to a new place of exile. My first attempts to realise the future before me,—the country and the people with whom my lot was cast, were not, it must be confessed, very successful. The series of contributors to the sum of all European knowledge of Japan, of later date than those just enumerated,—were not altogether excluded either. Kæmpfer, Thunberg, and others (from whose works all recent attempts to describe the Japanese, or their country and institutions, have chiefly been compiled), passed in rapid review. But my knowledge of them was probably too slight to be of much use; and though compelled to make an appearance,—they came and went like flitting shadows. The

* So Congreve styles him, with doubtful justice; for although he may have romanced about himself, there is reason to believe he told much that was true of the strange people he was cast among.

only positive impression obtained by this sudden dragging forth of many negatives, long put away in the dark chambers of the brain;—and their subjection to the strongest light I could bring to bear at the moment, was, I think, one—of immeasurable distance!

A cluster of isles appeared on the farthest verge of the horizon, apparently inhabited by a race at once grotesque and savage,—not much given to hospitality, and rather addicted to martyrizing strangers of whose creed they disapproved. Thus much stood out tolerably distinctly, but little else that was tangible. Severance from all social ties, isolation from one's kind, and a pariah existence, far away from all centres of civilisation,—far beyond the utmost reach of railroad or telegraph,—came much more vividly before me; and in Rembrandt masses of shade,—with but one small ray of light, just enough to give force and depth to the whole,—a sense of duty, a duty that *must* be done, whether pleasant or otherwise, and about which there was no choice. What a world of anxiety and doubt the consciousness of this saves us! Doubt and Suspense are the great corroders and absorbents of life. A plain, clear path to follow, however rough or thorn-strewn, is far less exhausting and trying in the end, than many divergent roads—with no certainty as to the right one, no ruling principle for guide, and no definite goal beyond.

To Japan many eyes were turning at this moment, as likely to furnish a new market for the ever-increasing industrial products of the West. In this reopened field for all kinds of efforts and propagandisms,—Commercial, Political, and Religious,—five Western Powers were about to engage. The United States of America, which had led the way by their two treaties of 1854 and 1858; Great Britain, France, and Russia, three of the greatest powers of the old world by land and sea; and Holland, the long-lived heir of the past, were already on the spot, in the persons of divers merchants and commercial agents, waiting at Nagasaki, and eager to rush in as soon as the

ports were opened. How this sudden influx of so many nationalities was likely to be regarded by the long-isolated Japanese rulers could only be matter of speculation. But if it seemed to them like the opening of so many flood-gates,—an inundation of barbarians, and a menace of destruction,—we could hardly wonder.

In the short interval before me, while waiting the arrival from Europe of several members of the Japanese Consular establishment, I found abundant occupation in getting furniture made, specially adapted to resist rough usage on the deck of a man-of-war—where it was sure to get it,—to go into the smallest possible space, in order to get taken at all,—and yet to meet all the innumerable wants of a large establishment. These were conditions not very easily complied with even in Canton, where a colony of carpenters and cabinet-makers have existed for many generations, dependent entirely upon the demand created by foreigners for all kinds of wants,—real and fancied,—in the shape of furniture. Long as the Cantonese, however, have been labouring in our behalf, and with all their imitative talent, they have never learnt to make a drawer to fit, or to mortise the legs of a chair. Knowing their weakness in this respect, I was not much surprised, therefore, on landing in Japan some weeks later, to find,—that despite all the matting and packing, and other innumerable precautions taken, my chairs were delivered to me crippled and dilapidated, so as to present a most deplorable picture. Broken-backed and maimed, with fractured arms and dislocated legs, they were fit for nothing, unless to be laid up at Greenwich or Chelsea, as relics of a voyage to Japan! They had been stowed away in the cutter, between the masts, for want of room elsewhere, no doubt—a sort of thoroughfare in bad weather, and they had borne the traffic badly;—but this is to anticipate.

In a moderately short time I succeeded, with the assistance of '*Capo*' and '*Hopfo*' and '*Howshing*,' with sundry others of the carpenters' guild enjoying equally charac-

teristic and euphonious names, in getting the principal articles of furniture deemed most essential for Europeans, ready to embark—for a land which boasted of none. I am not sure that I did not sometimes think the Japanese wiser in their generation, to treat all such things—beds, tables, and chairs, as superfluities. How greatly, for example, it would simplify the question of marriages on limited incomes, by striking out the most expensive item of a first establishment—the upholsterer's bill! To say nothing of the farther and permanent advantage of diminishing household work, and the number of servants. Not having arrived, however, at such perfect simplicity of life; and distrusting the wisdom of making the experiment, —of sitting on my heels, and eating off the mats, without preliminary training,—I felt obliged to undertake all the trouble and expense of a variety of rectangular devices for being comfortable. Bedsteads and mattresses, that would *both* take to pieces; tables and sofas, cunningly contrived to carry their legs horizontally beneath them; 'What-nots' that collapsed into something perfectly flat and inappreciable in bulk, and warranted to rise story above story on a touch, like the children's 'jack in a box,'—all deftly put together in solid mahogany,—corded and matted, soon filled up a large space in the entrance hall of the hong temporarily occupied as a Consulate in Canton. What would I not have given for ready access to Herr Oppenheimer and the marvels of portable furniture since exhibited in the International Exhibition!

It was still early in May when all the preparatory arrangements were completed; but spring had passed, and a tropical summer was upon us. The last few days before my departure from Canton had brought unmistakeable evidence of the fact. With the thermometer standing in the bed-room at 97°, mosquitos swarming outside the curtains,—and too often within, sleep is a blessing which comes but seldom, and is never sound and refreshing. In all travels in the East, there has always seemed to me a *suppressio veri* in regard to these Poisoners

of the human race, and Destroyers of all peace. Whoever sat down patiently to write either letter or book in such company? Not content with sucking the blood out of your veins, they pour a venom into them, throwing the most philosophic into a state of fever and irritation. The heat itself, enervating and exhausting as it is, would be ten times more endurable but for these winged plagues. The very noise of their trumpet becomes so hateful, that the bugle sounding the advance of a line of Zouave skirmishers could hardly be more distracting, or more fatal to any sense of repose and security. And like the 'small provocations of a bitter tongue,' the longer they continue, and the oftener they are repeated, the more intolerable they become! It is hardly fair then, in Eastern travellers, to suppress, as they almost invariably do, any reference to this greatest of small miseries. With the exception of enlarged livers and sudden death, no more grievous drawbacks to an Eastern climate can be conceived.

The hour of departure had come. The sun was pouring a blaze of light on the broad waters of the Pearl River, as they swept in dangerous eddies past the rocks in mid stream, and reflected in broken lines the ruined suburbs of Canton. As I stepped on board the steamer which was to convey me to Hongkong, the scene suggested many thoughts of the past.

This city, once the pride and boast of the southern Chinese, was still in the occupation of the 'Barbarian;' while roofless houses and crumbling walls, with windows like eyeless sockets, told a tale of weak and unavailing resistance. And even in that hour there came steaming up the river a vessel, with the British ensign flying half-mast,—freighted with the remains of the Viceroy who played his last stake at Canton, and lost it. *Yeh* was on his way to his last home in Chinese earth. He had indeed returned, as Lord Stanley, in the House, shortly before had intimated he might; but only to be buried. The Fatalist's creed had ill served so

persevering a votary, and so staunch a believer. During the long solitary hours spent in a foreign land, did he ever pass in review his Canton administration, with a doubt or a question in his mind as to the policy or the wisdom of his course? As far as can be learned, the idea never suggested itself to him; but he was too evidently a reserved and uncommunicative man, for those even nearest him to know what might be in his thoughts. Certain it is, he died and gave no sign, expressed no doubt; and to all appearance, was undisturbed by any regret or misgiving. Had he lived to come back (as might well have been, for we had no longer any object in keeping him away), he would have seen such a changed order of things as might have roused even his stolid nature; and with all his conceit of unapproachable superiority, and his *nil admirari* habit, given rise to serious reflections. Not that he would have *admired*, but he could scarcely have failed to be surprised. He might have passed incognito through the streets of the great and busy city which he had so lately governed, (trembling often lest 'braves' from without, and conspirators within, might snatch it from his grasp,) and have seen how securely it was now held by a handful of foreign troops. So easily and unconcernedly, indeed, that from street to street, a couple of marine police, armed with only a switch, kept perfect order; and a small body of men thus employed, gave security to all the bustling throng of shop-keepers, street-vendors, and still more numerous purchasers. Their occasional presence was enough; and in this city, which no foreigner might pollute with his presence a few short months before, English and French — officers, soldiers, and civilians — on horseback, in chairs, and on foot—were circulating through the streets in every direction, the Chinaman scarcely looking up from his work to notice them as they passed. If a coolie meets them, his only notice is the removal of his broad bamboo hat, that it may not incommode the foreigner. Children that used, in all the suburbs, to be taught by their elders to

spit out terms of abuse, the gentlest of which was '*Fankwei*' or 'foreign devil,' now hail the humblest private as 'Taipan' or 'chief,' and with outstretched palm, sometimes insinuate that a 'kumshaw,' or gratuity of copper cash, would be by no means disdained. This, and much more, — he might have read, marked, and inwardly digested. A goodly and a pleasant change for the better, no one can doubt, whatever diversity of opinion may have existed, as to the means by which it was brought about.

Clear proof indeed was furnished, by after events, that the long-nurtured and often-invoked hostility of the Cantonese was entirely of factitious growth, due exclusively to the machinations of the Mandarins, as a part of the policy of the Court at Pekin. More recent occurrences had moreover shown that the high officials on the spot would, without scruple or hesitation, venture to repeal, within their province, the ancient and most time-honoured laws of the empire — such as the law prohibiting emigration — whenever a necessity for such action became apparent. Thus the admission of foreigners into the city of Canton, the ever-recurring *quæstio vexata*, might at any time have been granted at the option of the successive Viceroys, from Keying to Yeh, and upon their own authority, if they had chosen; — all their protestations 'to the contrary notwithstanding.' And if this had been done, Yeh, even at the last hour, might have averted the catastrophe which precipitated him from his Viceroyalty, and sent him a prisoner to die in the hated foreigner's land. Governor Peihkwei, Yeh's successor, issued, a short time before my departure, a proclamation legalising the emigration of all Chinese, willing to enter into labour contracts for foreign colonies, — and the whole history of this important step was very instructive, both as regarded the past and the future. The atrocities perpetrated by the Chinese crimps in kidnapping by fraud and violence the unwary, with a view to secure the bonus offered by shippers, under foreign flags (not British, I am glad to say), had at last excited in the

whole population such a feeling of alarm and exasperation as to threaten the personal security of the officials, hitherto so supine; and endanger the peace of the place by an uprising of the populace. Momentary measures were taken, in conjunction with the allies, to seize certain receiving vessels; but the true remedy, provided under good advice by the Chinese high authorities, was a proclamation removing at once the ban of illegality on emigration, which served as a pretext for these enormities.

So, it may be inferred, they could and would have removed the ban on our entrance into Canton, at any time during the fifteen preceding years, if steps had been taken to make them understand, that we were determined it *should* be removed, in accordance with treaties; and that the alternative was certain capture and military occupation of the city,— thus shifting the pressure and the vexation, from the foreigners' to the Mandarins' shoulders. However, as regards Canton, the knowledge came too late, either to save us the expense of costly armaments, or them a great destruction of property.

Let us hope permanent good has come of so much temporary evil;—and of this there was at least some promise when I took my departure. Even as regarded intercourse with the authorities, there was little evidence of ill-blood. Perhaps the facility for direct and personal intercourse had done something to remove both the prejudices born of long isolation,— and the enmity naturally arising from recent collision. A very unusual demonstration indicative of changed sentiments, was witnessed on my leaving Canton. When the steamer passed the Custom-house, on its way down the river, a salute was fired by the Chinese authorities, with a display of fireworks and crackers in continuation, (as is their custom when they wish to do honour), telling the surrounding population of the new order of things a British Consul left behind him. A friendly farewell from one of the highest officers of the province, and the Chief Superintendent of Maritime

Customs, was, indeed, a novel trait;—and, that nothing might be wanting, he had previously sent an officer on board, with his card, to take a ceremonious leave, and announce the intended salute. Three years ago, this same official could not be approached by a Foreign consul;—and *when* an official letter might be answered, if at all, was a doubtful question! A great step in the way of progress and permanent friendly intercourse had undoubtedly been taken; and it will be our own fault, I think, if that which has once been gained is ever entirely lost.

The personal intercourse I had with the Hoppo, and other authorities, on my return from Europe, after the capture of the city, had been frequent and satisfactory. If a nuisance had to be abated on the Honan side of the river (where the foreigners were located after the destruction of the factories), gambling-shops to be closed, or the course of a canal which had been built over and made into a filthy sewer to be restored—it required but a request, and it was done at once, where formerly all the power of Great Britain could not have secured attention. With the Hoppo (the Chief of the Customs), notwithstanding many difficulties, and continued evasion of duties by Foreigners and Chinese in collusion, something like cordial relations existed; not very sincere, perhaps,—not without a shade of duplicity, and the spirit which bends to circumstances;—but we have no right to expect miracles to be wrought in our favour in China, any more than elsewhere.

And now we pass the Bogue forts, with their crumbled bastions and dismantled walls; recalling the solution of a little 'difficulty' with the Americans, not with us, and one which carried its lesson also and a moral with it. While Yeh had his hands full enough, one would have thought, with the British, his officers, in pure wantonness, or stupidity, one day amused themselves by practising with round shot at the American Commodore's boats, as they passed with their flag flying. To remonstrance and demand for ex-

planation and apology nothing but Chinese verbiage could be obtained;—until the American commander's patience being exhausted, he laid his ship's broadside to the batteries and dismantled them. Then only did Yeh, that able, intelligent, and treaty-loving official, find out that his people 'had made a mistake'; and, with the mingled inconsistency and insolence which only a Chinese mandarin ever carried to such perfection, he closed his apology by coolly proposing that the Commodore would send the 'flag of his nation, that in future the Chinese officers might know and be able to recognise it.' This, after half a century's international intercourse! What could *diplomacy* do with such officials as these?—authorities which never yielded to argument until enforced by blows; and obstinately turned a deaf ear to all remonstrances—not backed by the logic of the sword?

From the Bogue forts to Hongkong is but four hours' steaming, and the 'Williamette' cleverly threads her way through a very maze of boats and shipping, without collision or accident; her great bell clanging a deafening warning to the market and shore boats, which evince the most perverse tendency to cross the bows of a steamer, with scarce a yard to spare. How they escape seems a mystery, but they do escape generally; and the anchor finally brings her up at her berth, amidst a rush of 'Sanpans' and boats of all sizes and descriptions;—and a mighty clamour of voices, in which the shrill pipes of the women drown the bass tones of their male competitors, and set at defiance all efforts of the men to be heard above them. To get into one of these hundred Sanpans with all your belongings, is truly a service of danger and a trial of nerve. Half a dozen sharp prows are edged in contact with the companion-ladder,—or thereabouts. You descend, and a moment's indecision is enough to cost you a ducking, if not your life. Nothing but a determined spring into one can save you; happy even then if no treacherous syren, with a grasp of iron, seek to turn you into her own which lies to the right or to the left,—or some laggard, with a despe-

rate thrust, does not send your selected boat six yards away, without exactly filling up the vacant space over which you see yourself taking a flying leap. These perils safely passed, you have then time to look and see what has become of your 'boy'—a corruption, I believe, of the Indian call for a servant—and, more important still, your bag and trunk. Most probably you have the satisfaction of seeing him with one foot still on the ladder, and the

HONGKONG

other in the air, vainly seeking the boat beneath;—while your boxes are passing over his head into another, and your bag, like the last horse in a race, is 'nowhere.' As, however, the same scene of utter confusion and despair takes place at least ten times every day, and travellers do, for the most part, reach the shore in safety, while 'boys' and trunks turn up after all, you resign yourself to Providence, take the rudder and steer to the shore,—where the best of hospitality, or the worst of hotel accommodation, awaits you;—with a third chance of a room in the club-house, not so good as the first, nor *quite* so bad as the second.

I passed several days in Hongkong before all was ready for a final departure. This St. Helena of the China Seas, then, as now, with its motley population, its bad repute, and incongruous pretensions, 'progresses,' as the Americans say, in a very wonderful way! Its first governors would hardly know it, although the general features are the same as when they held the reins. When I returned three years later, on my way homeward, progress still was the only change. More houses and more streets were there; more hill and rock had been cut away or blasted, to make room. Nature and the inbred energy of the English race combined, have made Hongkong a wonder to all other nations. As I took my early walk the morning after my arrival, the sun, through heavy banks of cloud and mist, was struggling hard to light up the bay, the opposite shores of which were still shrouded by an impenetrable veil. Ships of many nations, and junks of every size and description, were shaking out their sails to dry,—before another drenching rain might come down. But, fair weather or foul, this Bay of Hongkong, one of the finest in the world, is always picturesque. Landlocked with bold rocks and swelling hills, the navies of every European power might safely ride at anchor. Full of life and movement, too, from the shipping which crowds its waters, the scene is one of great attraction to residents and casual visitors alike. The daybreak gun wakens up all early risers; the loud-screaming whistles, and scarce less discordant bells of the river steamers, soon after begin the business of the day, and keep up an incessant alarum from seven in the morning to eight or nine o'clock, and again from four in the afternoon until long after dark, on their return from Canton or Macao. The snorting and puffing of gunboats diversify the sounds, while from the shore and the streets a busy hum of cries, and sounds indescribable and untranslatable, tell the drowsy stranger that a city in the tropics has leaped into life and activity before the sun attains his scorching power. If he turns out for an early walk or ride, as most Anglo-Easterns do, and bends his

steps upward to the higher grounds, he will find the convolvulus spreading its beautiful flowers for the fresh breath of dawn, creepers of wild luxuriance covering each wall and bank; and, looking seaward, a whole series of bays lie at his feet, stretching away into the distance. Market boats, laden with provisions from the mainland, with their richly coloured sails of matting, and many picturesque forms, are crowding into the harbour. Square-rigged ships are pressing all sail, to gain the long-desired haven; while others are unmooring, to proceed to the several ports with their outward cargo. Ships-of-war, trading-junks, merchant craft from every country, all are here to bear testimony to the activity and importance of the trade which, in some way or other, finds in Hongkong a connecting link. Native craft in numbers from the adjoining coast, each differing in shape and colour, according to the port, crowd the anchorage. The great bulky Shantung junk, laden with peas and beans; the Shanghai hulk, with its gaudy colours and mythic eagle on the stern, but little differing in exterior; and the long low craft of Ningpo, all are there. Hainan, and even Siam and Singapore, each has its type. A Chinese sailor will distinguish where they come from, by differences of shape and rigging, paint and decoration, without difficulty; and, if he be honest, may also tell you where stout-built junks are lying undisturbed, with a pirate crew, and nearly fitted out with fresh supplies of guns and powder. Only I do not recommend any one to trust him too implicitly; for he may be one of the pirate crew himself, and will send you on a wrong scent, to the damage of some honest trader whom he wishes to ruin;—or simply to damage you, and prevent the Hongkong authorities pursuing his fellows on information given, by letting you into a few deplorable mistakes—mares' nests—of which Mr. Chisholm Anstey has long since had his say in Hongkong and elsewhere. With a large harbour full of junks from every seaport and island between Shantung and Singapore, Siam, Java, and the Philippines;

with 60,000 Chinese and *Macâenses* (as the mixed Portuguese population of the neighbouring peninsula of Macâo are usually termed) on shore, it is not easy for the authorities and police to put their hands upon all the rogues, or pirate craft either, that take shelter beneath the sure protection of the British flag,—were they the best and most honest that ever wielded colonial power. The native population from the mainland have made this barren rock their home, building a large Chinese town, which spreads along the western shore, and skirts the bay, creeping and scrambling upward and upward over the hillside, along the face of the ravines, and high above the town beneath. Nest on nest of houses elbow each other in the most determined way, until they dispute the higher levels with the merchant princes of the colony, and seem to aim at crowning the Victoria Peak itself, sufficiently attesting the untiring industry, perseverance, and enterprise, too — when in pursuit of their own gain — of these sons of Ham.

Twenty years have not yet passed over our heads since England first took possession of this pirate haunt, and all its properties of unlimited granite and bare hills; and now it is the great centre of a Chinese coasting trade, to feed which numberless ships come laden with produce, from India, Siam, and the Philippines, from Batavia and Singapore,—with the collected tribute of the Malayan Archipelago. These are chiefly for transhipment or despatch to other markets; while from England, New York, and San Francisco, some of the finest clippers of both countries come filled with manufactured goods and American 'notions.' Even New Zealand and Australia are contributors of the required supplies, seeking tea in exchange, for their own wants. It has become the postal and financial terminus, or great centre, — whence all the directing wires of the European, Indian and American trade with China, receive their impulse from the heads of firms located in the colony, determining the ultimate destination of all the ships and cargoes that enter or leave

the China seas. What is the secret of this sudden and enormous growth in population and in trading importance, of a barren rock? This must be among the first questions of a stranger. Hongkong itself, he sees at a glance, produces nothing but granite boulders and the thinnest scrub,—beneath the hottest of suns, and least healthy of climates. The city of Victoria, with its Cathedral and Episcopal palace, its Government House, and Supreme Court, with all its Merchants' palatial houses, is perhaps the very last spot, on all the coast of China, where a sensible man would have thought of placing house or home, if the choice had been left to himself. Victoria Peak rises 1,200 feet above the level of the sea, and stretches its solid bulk across the whole line of the city, effectually shutting out the south-west breeze,—and all the cool air to be had during six months of a most oppressive summer, when everyone gasps for want of that needful aliment. From this arid rock many go home sick every year; with spleens much larger than their fortunes; and not a few remain, to have their bones laid in six feet of Chinese earth, in the 'Happy Valley,' where an English cemetery has been located. Yet the neighbouring mainland has good and commodious harbours, far nearer to the producing markets and the native purchasers of foreign goods;—and apparently, in every respect, better fitted for trade than Hongkong. But, despite all this, and more that might be said to its disadvantage, trade, from countries the most distant, converges here, to a great centre of attraction;—as though its hills and granite rocks were loadstone, and ships must needs be drawn within its landlocked bay. The secret of its seeming magnetic power is soon told however.

Security to life and property is the first and broadest foundation of such prosperity; a magnificent bay, of easy access, the second condition; and the absence of all custom-houses,—with proximity to Chinese ports, where these do exist, in more or less oppressive form, the third. And these taken together, furnish, I conceive, a very full

solution of the problem. Given a barren rock, in the near vicinity of a wealthy empire cursed with a corrupt administration, how shall the trade of the mainland be made to overflow to the islet? In the first place, to it an enterprising and industrial population can bring their produce from the whole sea-board of the mainland, on advantageous terms of export with their own people, as not declared for foreign market; and from it—run cargoes of return goods, with like exemption from import duties. Thus it happens that Hongkong, though promoting in a certain subsidiary way foreign trade with China—in the only way originally contemplated when it was ceded to Great Britain by treaty—really owes its wondrous growth and prosperity as a colony to other causes; and mainly to a vast trade with the whole sea-board of China, which for the most part is in the hands of the Chinese themselves. And this, if not contraband trade, in so far as our merchants personally are concerned, is at least carried on and only flourishes, under conditions of exemption from duties and all custom-house regulations—contrary to the law of China. From the island, as a great depôt of produce in demand on the mainland, the Chinese traders can take their opium, long-cloths, yarns and woollens, free of all duty,—with the chance of laying them down near the points of consumption, either for nothing, or a small bribe to the custom-house officials, often on a previously arranged scale. Half a loaf being proverbially better than no bread, and the latter being the alternative presented to the custom-house authorities by the wretched inadequacy of their pay,—if, steadfast to their duty, they exact the full dues at any one point,—they adopt this mode of redressing the wrong. This arrangement, by which they supplement their salaries, and encourage trade at the expense of the revenue, is pretty well established all over the empire. In like manner, upon the same principle, the natives can bring to Hongkong *from* the mainland their own produce for sale;—their Rhubarb, Sugar, Camphor, Cassia, and sundry other articles; and to Macâo their Tea,

at a better price than at the consular ports; for the simple reason that they succeed in escaping duty, either wholly or in part, on their export.

There is, perhaps, no chapter more curious in the history of nations, than the chapter of blunders and their results. It is related of the Maréchal de Castries, one of

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the men said to have sought all his life to fix fortune by deep and learned combinations, that at the end of his career, he confessed with rare candour, to some one enquiring the secret of his uniform success, 'he owed much to accident and opportunity, and not a little to blunders!' Certainly the history of China in these matters, and of Macâo and Hongkong, the two rival European settlements on the borders of China, the one occupied by the Portuguese more than two centuries, and Hongkong only some two decades by ourselves, furnish striking illustrations. To look at Macâo, as the steamer heads into its picturesque bay, see its imposing buildings, its convents and cathedrals, its *praya* and its batteries, with green hills

and tree-embowered villas, no one would guess that this was the home of poverty, and long departed prosperity; — where bankrupt aliens find a refuge, and a mongrel race of Portuguese, Chinese, and Africans from Goa, all commingled, swarm and breed, and live — God only knows how! Once great and wealthy (built up chiefly with the gold and the spoils of Japan), in the pride of triumphant rivalry with Great Britain in her Eastern trade, then only in its infancy, it had long fallen into the sere and yellow leaf of a gradual decay, when our first war with China gave one of those chances which — to nations as to individuals — seldom come more than once in a cycle, of seizing fortune in its passage, and emerging from poverty to wealth; — had those who governed only been gifted with sufficient prescience to see their opportunity. They had but to declare it a Free port, and shake off the evil spell of mandarin rule, to become the great emporium of Western trade — become what Hongkong now is. It may, at all events, admit of question, if this bold and vigorous step had been taken at the right moment, whether, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of a shallow bay and bad anchorage attaching to Macâo, — the new colony of Hongkong would ever have been adopted as the head-quarters of British houses. With its impracticable hills, its sultry and unhealthy atmosphere, its inconvenient distance from the mainland, and the rivers which form the great lines of traffic between the interior and the coast, nothing could be less inviting. It had, originally, but one recommendation, in the natural advantage of a fine bay. But to this the British Government could attach freedom from all the petty worry and vexatious exactions of corruption — in the hybrid form of a Portuguese colony, crossed by a Chinese custom-house. And above all perhaps, security to life and property, only to be found in those latitudes under the British flag. We were very slow, however, as is our wont, to make up our minds. Our merchants did not move, — and an offer was even made to the Portuguese Government to purchase their right of

possession of Macâo, such as it was, under Chinese rule. Fortunately for us, in some respects at least, the pride of Portugal refused to cede this last poor relic of former greatness;—and while we were thus groping our way, they missed their only chance in a century, of bringing back trade and wealth to their starving colony, by declaring it a free port, and ridding themselves of the incubus of a Chinese custom-house. With a curious inconsistency, they took this very step, and ejected the Chinese officials when it was too late by ten years to profit them; and the bold step only cost the Governor his life, without any corresponding advantage to his country.* It seems to be as unfortunate for a man to arrive too late as too early, on the world's stage, when he has a part to play. Ten years earlier he might have changed the destiny of the two colonies; coming too late, he only sacrificed himself and changed nothing. Millions of dollars had then been expended on the sunbaked and sterile hills of Hongkong —by the Government, in roads and barracks, and public offices,—by our own merchants and those of other nations, in houses and godowns,—driven at last to this expensive alternative, by the vexatious impediments to which their trade was exposed in Macâo, under the joint Chinese and Portuguese rule. Trade had irrevocably fol-

* Captain Amaral, the Governor here alluded to, was a distinguished naval officer, who fell a victim to his zeal for the improvement of the colony, and its emancipation from Chinese rule. He was assassinated in open day while riding out, by a band of Chinese, and his head was carried off to the Chinese authorities, by whom it was carefully preserved in pickle; and only delivered up to the Portuguese some weeks later, after an enormous amount of hard swearing. This act of atrocity, so well illustrating the principle on which the Chinese rulers would fain have regulated their dealings with foreigners, was a fit sequent to the torture and murder of four English clerks at Whang-chu-kee, a village near Canton, only a short time before. The present Governor of Macâo, Captain Guimaraës, a naval officer also, of great ability and energy, has known how to draw all the profit that was possible from the emancipation from Chinese rule which his predecessor had effected at the cost of his life. Aided by the unsettled state of the whole province, which induced the Chinese to flock to the colony for security, the revenue so wonderfully improved, that a surplus has even been remitted to the mother country,—very much to its surprise, it must be imagined: Portuguese colonies, like our own, being chiefly known as sources of expenditure,—draining the home exchequer instead of feeding it! Holland and Spain alone seem to have preserved the art of reversing the process, and making their colonies *pay*.

lowed the heads and the purses which gave it vitality; —and not even the pleasant hills and green shade of Macâo, nor its fresher breezes, could ever wile them back again.

It is but a four hours' passage from Hongkong to Macâo, and a passenger lands on the *praya*, while the convent bells fill the air with their chimes, feeling as though he had traversed a whole hemisphere in that short space, — passed into another climate, and suddenly found himself in an old watering-place on the coast of Portugal, in the year 1600!

Here dark-tinted women in their black *Mantos* saunter through the streets, as to this day they saunter in the provincial towns of Portugal. The bright-coloured kerchief round the head, and swarthy skins, meeting you at every step, tell of long connection with Goa and African possessions. Dwarfed children of all hues under the sun, and lazy-looking monks, or sable-robed padres, with portentous shovel hats, either drone through the half-deserted streets (become too large for its population where the Chinese do not fill up the space), or help to swell some monkish procession, wending its way to the cathedral; precisely as did Spaniards and Portuguese alike in by-gone centuries (when *Auto-da-Fé's* were more in vogue), and presenting the same pictures and groups as may still be seen in the land of their birth. 'Cœlum non animam mutant' is indeed specially true in this Portuguese colony.

The Chinese Government, there is little doubt, has viewed with jealousy and anger the great developement of commerce, and rapid increase of population,—recruited as it has been from their own subjects. The close proximity of two foreign colonies and free ports must of necessity be a source of vexation and even of injury; for both piracy, and frauds on the revenue, are unquestionably stimulated and fostered by the facilities such ports afford. We cannot be surprised, therefore, if a government like that of China should see in this a ground

of reproach, and consider us responsible, as the intentional promoters of disorder and violence. The only remedy, however, is obviously to be found, not so much in any change in the foreign colony, as in greater security to life and property on the mainland, and an improved custom-house. The absence of the one drives homeless men to the high seas for plunder; and a wretchedly administered custom-house, with venal officials, quite as certainly developes smuggling. One can only rejoice, therefore, to see that the Chinese are at last turning their attention to these, with a seemingly right appreciation of their importance,—and to the means by which improvement is most certainly to be effected. In seeking to organise an efficient administration of customs on land on a uniform system;—and a fleet of gunboats at sea, with the assistance of foreign officers, they are doing much. If they succeed in thus introducing such elements of honesty, courage, and efficiency as their own service cannot supply, a rapid and decisive improvement in both directions must take place.

The vigour, honesty, and intelligence they find it so difficult to secure among their own people may certainly be found among foreigners, if rightly set about. Time will show with what success their present efforts may be attended; but it is impossible not to desire that it may be full and complete. In that direction lies their only hope of providing an effective remedy for a great and increasing evil. Under the present order of things, even Macâo has repaired her tattered vestments, sole legacy of two hundred years of poverty; and Hongkong has made the fortune of many of its denizens in less than twenty years. Under a better régime in China, both colonies would possibly have to content themselves with more legitimate gains, — and it may be, smaller revenues and lessened importance. But though Macâo should have to fall back upon lentils and soup maigre six days in the week, as of old; and Hongkong see fewer ships in her harbour, with corresponding diminution of the Chinese population and revenue; it is well that the Chinese should succeed in their

efforts at reorganisation. It would be well—even on the most selfish view of our own interests.

In getting its legitimate dues from foreign trade, which the Government received until recently at Shanghai alone, —under a system of foreign inspection first organised during my residence there in 1854,—the Chinese Government would obtain a direct and increasing interest in its developement and prosperity; besides the means of establishing a better government over the country,—without which all trade is likely to be destroyed by a general disorganisation. They may further learn by success a lesson they much need; namely, that to secure good and honest service, States, as well as individuals, must deal fairly with their servants, and give adequate salaries. Though last, not least, among the benefits to be derived, the foreign merchant would find his trade could be carried on in the Chinese markets with honesty, and on principles of fairness to all, without any sacrifice either of principle or capital, such as must otherwise be inevitable, where a vicious and lax administration of customs exists. There are many who contend against the organisation of a system for the efficient collection of customs by the Chinese Government, with the aid of foreign inspectors of their own appointment,—on the alleged ground that it is no business of ours; and that if they are defrauded of their revenue (by collusion between their own officers and foreign merchants), theirs alone is the fault and the loss. But is it no concern of a foreign nation and its government, whether those who represent its commerce and nationality, bring credit or disgrace upon their country by their dealings? *Is* the loss only on one side? How does the conscientious trader thrive in such circumstances? And how much ill-will and excuse for bad faith, on the part of the Chinese Government may be due to this one cause? Merchants are never slow to claim protection for their interests as a national obligation, even at the cost of a war;—and they are quite right. Such an obligation undoubtedly exists; but is it no concern of Statesmen what

may be the character of the mercantile transactions and the honesty of the dealings, for which they may be called upon to draw the sword? We owe much of our commercial position in the world, and the wealth it brings, to the British name for good faith and honesty. And can this be dishonoured, or flung to the winds, in any quarter of the globe, without prejudice to our commercial interests everywhere? Were it a matter of as perfect indifference as has often been asserted what befell the Chinese revenue;—it would still be of grave concern to us in a national sense, that Englishmen should not be engaged in defrauding it. These are serious considerations, and with too direct a bearing upon our position and commerce in the East to be safely overlooked. No doubt the effort now making, to establish at the consular ports by a leaven of foreign elements, an efficient inspectorate of customs, and completely reorganise the establishments hitherto existing,—radically vicious and bad as they notoriously were,—is a task in which perfect success cannot be looked for at once;—if even in the end, after time and experience shall have given education and training to the many subordinates of all kinds required, and perfected the machinery. Perfect institutions exist nowhere; and China, with its underpaid officials and their prescriptive rights, under such a system,—to pay themselves by every kind of bribery and extortion, neglect, and peculation,—is the last place to produce them. We may take it for granted, therefore, that much, for a long time at least, must necessarily be imperfect in any administration of customs that can be organised under a Foreign Inspectorate. It must consequently be open to cavil and objection; and all who are inimical to an impartial and rigid enforcement of customs, will find it easy work to discover flaws and evidences of imperfect working. But the true question, after all, is not whether this machinery, or any other that can be devised, is perfect; for that we know to be unattainable,—but whether it is, under the circumstances, the best attainable? And, again, whether the administration, by the intro-

duction of certain foreign elements of honesty and vigour, under intelligent direction, does not constitute a vast improvement on any system that has hitherto existed in native hands alone? If it is, we must be content to accept with the improvement, the certainty that there will be no exemption from the law of humanity, which precludes absolute perfection. As for the plausible objections which are now and then advanced, in default of better arguments,—that the British Government (or the Treaty powers generally) by encouraging these efforts of the Chinese to infuse new vigour into their administration of customs,—as into the police of the coast for the suppression of piracy, by the employment of foreigners, and the purchase of gunboats, — are undermining their independence and usurping their rights, it is only waste of time to answer them. What European power has ever hesitated to employ foreigners when these could supply a special knowledge or a talent not to be found in the country? How does Russia, one of the greatest European powers, conduct its administration? Is there no employment of foreigners? And what statesman or politician has ever seen in such a course a ground of protest, or of danger to Russia? So far from seeing in these agencies and infusion of foreign blood and intellect in the administration of an Eastern empire, a cause of regret or ground of objection; I believe it is only thus that any amalgamation of the two civilisations of the East and the West, so different in kind and antagonistic in tendencies, can ever be brought about; or more harmonious relations established. Improvement, it is true, to be either general or effective, must come from within and not from without. With the best goodwill in the world, neither Great Britain, nor all the Western powers united, — as they probably never will be, — can supply a remedy for the universal anarchy, corruption, and bad government existing at the present day in the Chinese Empire. But there must be a beginning somewhere, and it is probably easier and more hopeful to commence from without under existing circumstances.

To relieve the Chinese Empire of two of its great enemies, piracy and smuggling, the one so damaging to its commerce, and the other to its revenue, it is evident indeed that two things are wanted, which, I repeat, no foreign power can supply. A good and strong government, and an honest administration throughout the provinces, but especially of the customs along the coast, and on the navigable rivers. Whether it be vain to look for these in the existing generation, time alone can show; but Foreign Powers in treaty with China, having large interests involved, are still at liberty (if not *constrained* in their own behalf) to do their best in aid, when the existing government is disposed, either spontaneously or under advice, to make efforts for their own regeneration, and the salvation of the country. To reform their administration, improve the custom-house, reorganise, and, indeed, create both an army and a navy, are all needful conditions of success;—and any aid the powers of the West can give for the speedy attainment of these ends, will be a gain to civilisation, and a direct benefit to nearly a third of the whole human race.

The sun was rapidly rising higher and higher as the morning walk drew to a close, together with my speculations on the past and the future. The rain clouds dispersed, and a gallant fleet might be seen stretching across the bay, with pendants and ensigns of many nations. Music came floating on the breeze from the U.S.S. 'Powhattan;' H.M. ship 'Fury' was getting up her steam, with 300 marines on board, bound for the north, for the then impending struggle at the Peiho, and H.M.S. 'Sampson' was ready also for the conveyance of the Diplomatic mission to Yeddo. We took our leave of Hongkong on May 17, and bent our course northward, for Nagasaki or Shanghai,—according as coals and weather might determine.

The incidents of a voyage up the coast from Hongkong in these days of steam are few, unless one happens to fall in with a typhoon, or succeeds in discovering a new rock;

and the month of May offers less chance of either, perhaps, than any other in the year. The escape from the sultry heat of Canton and Hongkong, to the fresh breezes of the higher latitudes and open sea, is the most noteworthy and delightful of the 'incidents,' but this is not an interesting event to any one out of the tropics. To feel a desire for a blanket, and to escape the sleep-disturbing trumpet of the mosquitos, are chief elements of a happiness only born of contrast. The winds were adverse, and so we turned our course towards the wide mouth of the leviathan of rivers, the Yangtze, and arrived at Shanghai in time for the Queen's birthday. It was not the Queen's weather, however, for the morning was wet and stormy. In vain the numerous ships of war were dressed in their gayest colours, and all the merchant vessels followed suit; everything looked drooping, wet, and miserable.

I wandered through the Foreign Settlement despite both rain and mud, over once familiar ground. There is certainly nothing more wonderful in the East than the rapid growth of this place, and the vast trade to which it has given rise, as the shipping port of the silk country, and many of the tea districts. Fifteen years ago, corn, and rice, and cotton covered the ground, now entirely occupied for more than a mile square with foreign buildings;—mansions, for the foreign merchants, and packhouses of corresponding extent for merchandise. This is further increased by a Chinese settlement in the rear;—its occupants having sought peace and security where the flags of Western powers, (and chief of these, by the magnitude of our interests and commercial transactions,—the British,) give no vain promise of both. Some 80,000 Chinese, many of the better and wealthier classes of merchants, have thus located themselves of their own free choice, and built wide streets and extensive bazaars. They pay road- and police-rates, and conform to the municipal regulations of foreign growth, with outward willingness, if not with scrupulous fidelity. The Chinese are certainly among the most easily-governed people in the

world; given two conditions only — *honesty of purpose* and *strength* in the governing power. Under such conditions, the latter is hardly ever called into active exercise. It is enough that it should be known to exist. The city itself had but partially recovered its devastation by the horde of *soi-disant* patriots, and ruthless spoliators — banditti, which gained possession in 1853, and held it against an Imperial army until the beginning of 1855. A word from the Treaty Powers might, I believe, have averted such a calamity then; and saved from spoliation and ruin a population of some 80,000 industrious and peace-loving people. But a want of unanimity and decision among the Foreign representatives on the spot, either as to the end or the means, prevented any effort being made, and the opportunity was lost. Warned by past experience, we shall not willingly let this consular port again become a prey to the miserable vampires who exist only by sucking the life's blood out of flourishing towns, in many of which we have large commercial and treaty-guaranteed interests. True, the policy to be pursued in such circumstances opens up a large question, on which there has been already much difference of opinion. It is one, however, that can hardly be discussed with advantage, upon any basis of *non-intervention* interpreted in a thoroughly doctrinaire spirit. Any word spoken or blow struck to defend the lives, the property, or the trade of our merchants at Shanghai; or to safeguard the national interests of vast amount inseparably connected with these, and the salvation of Shanghai itself, from *capture* and *destruction* (synonymous terms with the Taepings), is a violation of a non-intervention policy, under such interpretation. Are we then to give up, without an effort, a trade employing thirty millions of capital, and yielding to the British and Indian exchequers a Revenue of ten millions sterling annually? Let us look the difficulty in the face. We must either make up our minds to do this, and accept the consequences in lost trade and increased taxation, both at

home and in India, to make up so many millions of revenue, or do what may be necessary to avert such a catastrophe. It is precisely here, I believe, that the great divergence of opinion begins. One party of politicians, general advocates of a peace and non-intervention policy, protest against any employment of our forces in the defence of the consular ports and centres of our Chinese trade,—first, as a departure from a sound policy of absolute neutrality; and, secondly, as unnecessary for the end in view, if that end be only protection to our trade. The Taepings, it is argued, might be treated with, just as easily and effectually as the Government of China. Granted, that it *is* a departure from absolute neutrality,—inasmuch as though the object be other than partizanship, yet, to give the insurgents a check in any direction, or prevent their seizing on a great seaport, is in effect to damage their cause; and by so much to interfere with their success, and the issue of the struggle between them and the existing government,—we have only to consider the second assertion that it is unnecessary, even if justifiable. But that entirely rests on the assumption, demonstrably untenable, and disproved by experience, that we could enter into arrangements with the Taepings, and let them occupy all the consular ports and lines of traffic, without serious detriment, if not destruction, to our trade and treaty rights. They are not a government in any sense of the word. They neither offer any of the guarantees of a government, nor any responsible head to treat with.* Assuming, for the moment, that our obligations towards the Imperial Government would warrant such negotiations, the attempts we have made in this direction have been signal failures — failures, as might be shown, inevitable from the constitution and character of the party with which we endeavoured to treat. The Taepings acknowledge no treaties, and are bound by no laws. How can a regular and responsible

* Nor should it be forgotten that the rebellion has many heads, acting independently of each other.

Government, such as ours, enter into treaty relations with an armed horde of illiterate and lawless insurgents, whose sole vocation these ten years past has been one of devastation; who wander from province to province, as locusts migrate from field to field, when they have utterly consumed and destroyed all that can support life? Must we patiently look on and see our trade and revenue, present and prospective, destroyed by these spoliators of honest men's goods, or shall we take effective means for their defence?

In what these may best consist is another question, and one of detail rather than principle. So also is that which regards the limits within which we shall seek to extend protection. But as regards the means, it will be found these resolve themselves into two: Great Britain, or Great Britain and France as at present, may either employ their own forces, naval and military, to defend the principal ports and centres of trade (or such of them as shall be deemed most essential), China paying for the expenses of such contingents; — or assist the Chinese Government to organise an army and navy for themselves, competent to do the same work. This of course is to help the Imperial Government, and may naturally be expected to bring down upon us the active hostility of the Taepings. But the worst they can do, cannot be more fatal to our interests than non-intervention and neutrality would be, taken in such absolute sense as the abstaining from all action. We are doing this in America, it is true, and accepting the loss. But the character and conditions of the struggle going on are different; and, moreover, where the same rules of International law are accepted as binding on both sides, the obligation is mutual to adhere to them, whatever may be the cost. We are bound by no such obligations in reference to the Taepings, because they themselves recognise no laws but those of their own making; and are not particular in observing *them*.

Intervention, in an international sense, implies *partisanship*, and the *espousal of a cause*. There has been no de-

sire to intervene in this sense, but only to interpose our arms in self-defence. Intervention of the specific and limited character here referred to, should more properly be regarded as simply a prohibition, issued to those who recognise no law, are bound by no treaties, and respect only force. A declaration that at the consular ports, where foreign powers have large vested interests and treaty rights, no one, in wanton spoliation, shall be allowed to destroy them; — and with them, the lives and property of thousands of peaceable inhabitants, with whom we have daily relations of amity and commerce. If the right to intervene and the necessity for such interference are defensible on these grounds, the advantages of such a course are still more clearly demonstrable. The population of these ports will learn to look upon us as their best friends, and a sure defence against violence and wrong they are otherwise unable to resist. The insurgent rabble themselves will regard us with all the more respect for our determined bearing; and the Imperial Government may even be grateful for exertions, by which the custom-house revenues (becoming every day of greater importance to them) are preserved from the grasp of their enemies. And whether grateful or not, the Emperor's counsellors cannot help seeing, by such service, that they have a direct interest in the preservation of foreign commerce, and the relations of good-will connected with its developement. No doubt this, or any other course that might be adopted for the protection of our commerce, is open to criticism, as involving us in a serious undertaking with many difficulties. But one thing, I repeat, is clear; we must either intervene, (singly, or with other powers,) to protect at least one or more of the great centres of our trade in China,—or make up our minds to see it destroyed by the insurgent bands ravaging the country. Are those who advocate a *laissez faire* policy, and abstinence from all protective measures, prepared for such a sacrifice of trade and revenue? If not, '*qui veut la fin, veut les moyens.*'

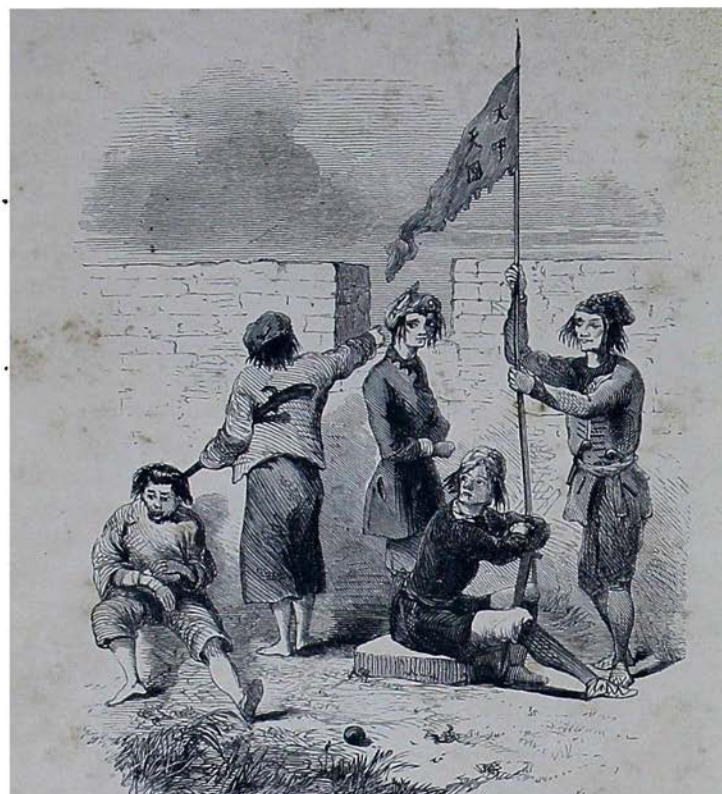
These considerations of general policy very naturally

suggested themselves, with the still evident traces of the savage and wanton destruction, wrought by a handful of horseboys and rabble Cantonese, once more under my eyes. Wide spaces, filled only with ruins, lie between the foreign settlement and the city walls, which I remembered completely covered with Chinese streets, the homes of a large and industrious population. Within the walls, permanent loss and devastation were still everywhere apparent. Thousands of houses had been levelled, and tens of thousands of their inhabitants — either tortured to death, beheaded, or cast out houseless and destitute to perish in the open country;—but it would be hard to find a single human being who had reaped any tangible or permanent benefit! Even the ruffian leader, *Chin-a-lin*, who alone of all his followers made his escape at the capture of the city (by the help of a foreign merchant), was prowling about Hongkong the other day, trying in vain through more foreign agency, to get possession of a certain lot of ground in Shanghai. There, known only to himself he said, lay buried a lac of dollars — wrung from the tears and agony of his tortured victims. As many in Europe have not enjoyed the advantage of a personal acquaintance with these disciples of Taeping, I beg to introduce them more particularly in a study from nature, made by a warm partisan of theirs,* *con amore.*

As I threaded my way amidst crowded thoroughfares, and scrambled over the rubbish of fallen houses, destroyed when the insurgents fired the city as they sought to escape,—some of the more striking features of our position in China involuntarily occupied my thoughts. To this place, where so many years of my life had been spent, I had now returned for a moment, after a two years' absence in Europe,— and therefore could look upon old scenes, with some of the freshness of eye which an artist brings to his work, after a long rest has restored the power of distinguishing the tints, often de-

* See woodcut in following page.

stroyed or impaired by a too constant gaze on the same glaring colours. The changes and wonderful development of trade a few years had brought about in Shanghai, the chief of the five ports originally opened



FOLLOWERS OF THE 'GREAT PEACE' DYNASTY

under treaty in 1843, are such as can hardly be realised by any one away from the spot. Nothing more surprising has ever been seen in the annals of colonisation or trade.* When I first arrived in Shanghai in 1846, to take possession

* See note next page.

of a post which I held for nine years, there were but three or four houses on the 'Bund,' or river front,—which now extends in a continuous line nearly two miles, to the south gate of the city. Behind,—away in the midst of cornfields and Chinese hamlets,—was the beginning of a Missionary settlement, supposed to be far enough in the country, never to be overtaken by the all encroaching and mundane pursuits of commerce. It was difficult in 1859 for me to find my way through a very labyrinth of streets and houses, to where the once isolated missionary village looked out on the open country. The busy hum of voices and din of traffic is now everywhere around them. Crowds of men, Jew, Pagan, and Christian, Buddhist and Parsee, Chinese and European, fill the streets, with endless gangs of coolies chaunting their paviour-like sound to keep each other in step,—as they press on beneath heavy burdens of tea-chests, bales of silk, and long-cloth. Sedan-chairs, with Chinese brokers inside, are rushing madly on, to the imminent danger of the eyes of pedestrians, from the projecting poles of the chairs just reaching to the level of the head. The thousands of Chinese who, since the seizure and destruction of the

* Brief Summary of Statistics: 1855—1860.

	No. of Vessels Inwards	Tons	No. of Vessels Outwards	Tons	Value of Imports	Value of Exports	Total
					£	£	£
1855	164	68,630	223	111,593	7,773,869	9,032,944	16,806,813
1856	398	127,730	353	122,106	8,325,772	9,538,379	17,864,151
1857	633	205,613	298	114,243	10,227,895	11,302,833	21,530,728
1858	754	242,624	378	154,795	12,061,185	12,563,014	24,624,199
1859	926	287,100	939	289,709	15,124,920	13,330,055	28,454,975
1860	1,007	304,154	972	293,568	18,326,430	10,779,319	29,105,749

The above figures include opium and treasure in the imports—apart from these the ratio of increase and the actual amount of the *import* trade is comparatively small. This summary is taken from the Custom House returns published under the Foreign Inspectors; and it is but justice to say, that their completeness and general accuracy is not one of the least services they have rendered to commerce. See Appendix A for some additional details.

city by the insurgents, have been continually pressing within our limits, give a fabulous value to the land. Wherever a spare lot could be had, they have either leased or bought it, and built houses.

The original occupants of European race run some risk of being jostled out of their possessions, just as these pushed and bought out the native possessors of the soil; a sort of retributive justice perhaps,—but one that was little anticipated when every effort was being made, some ten or fifteen years before, to get all the land into foreign hands. This result was, however, clearly enough foreseen by myself in the beginning;—and an endeavour was made, both by my predecessor Col. Balfour at the very outset, and subsequently by myself,—to keep the ground within the limits of the Foreign Concession exclusively for foreigners, as better for the permanent interests of these, and the security of the settlement. But if it be true that there never was an Act of Parliament through which a clever lawyer could not drive a coach and six; it is still more certain there are no laws or regulations which can be so applied to various nationalities in an Eastern country, that they may not, and *will not*, be broken through. What some may do with profit and impunity, can never be effectually prohibited to others. And so the once Foreign Settlement has become a Chinese town; and, as a natural consequence, has gone through a series of panics during the last few years, lest it should be given over to sack and plunder on the approach of the insurgents, after the fashion of Chinese cities;—the greatest danger coming from the Chinese population within the boundaries, and in the very midst of which every foreigner now must live. The natives are probably in the proportion of a hundred to one of the foreigners. Hitherto this calamity has been averted by British and French forces; but as this also may come to an end, being much too expensive a process for permanent adoption, the future of Shanghai is by no means so

secure as one would wish to see it. It is true, many of the wealthier and better classes of Chinese have taken refuge in the Foreign Settlement; and as they have much to lose, their presence affords a certain security. Yet even this is, after all, worth very little; for naturally timid, and of unwarlike disposition, they would only flock together or fly the place in time of danger, like so many sheep on the approach of wolves. And in their train, thousands of Chinese who have nothing to lose,—many of the worst classes indeed,—have also taken up their abode in the Foreign Settlement as an Alsatia, where no law of their own country can reach them; and no power of the stranger exists, to deal with an evil of this nature. Many years ago, when, as Her Majesty's Consul, I used to foreshadow precisely this state of affairs, with some faint hope at first, of inducing the more influential of the residents among my own countrymen more especially, to second my efforts and *prevent this location of Chinese among them*, as a permanent source of danger, and a grievous deterioration of the settlement in all save the immediate *dollar value* of the land and houses,—I had a conversation with one of them, honest and outspoken enough to tell the whole truth. 'No doubt your anticipations of future evil have a certain foundation, and indeed, may be correct enough — though something may be urged on the other side, as to the advantages of having the Chinese mingled with us, and departing from the old Canton system of isolation — but upon the whole, I agree with you. The day *will* probably come, when those who then may be here will see abundant cause to regret what is now being done, in letting and subletting to Chinese. But in what way am I and my brother landholders and speculators concerned in this? You, as H.M.'s. Consul, are bound to look to national and permanent interests — that is your business. But it is my business to make a fortune with the least possible loss of time, by letting my land to Chinese, and building for them at thirty or forty per cent. interest, if that is the best thing I can do with my money. In two or three years at farthest,

I hope to realise a fortune and get away; and what can it matter to me, if all Shanghai disappear afterwards, in fire or flood? You must not expect men in my situation to condemn themselves to years of prolonged exile in an unhealthy climate for the benefit of posterity. We are money-making, practical men. Our business is to make money, as much and as fast as we can;—and for this end, all modes and means are good which the law permits.' My plain-spoken friend quite convinced me I was losing time in any efforts to stem the tide of land-jobbing and house-building for Chinese tenants, who could be found to repay the capital of *land and house* by a two or three years' rent; and so ended my desire to continue the struggle, too evidently hopeless. And as long as there is land still to be bought up, and room to build more houses, and Great Britain supplies means of protection (barring now and then an uncomfortable panic of the destruction of the whole by fire and pillage from the enemy within the citadel,) 'all goes on as merry as a marriage bell.' Successive merchants, clerks, and storekeepers—generations of them so to speak, come and disappear, stay their time of five or ten years, and carry off a fortune—rejoicing in the Bourbon consolation—*après moi le deluge!* They have snatched wealth out of the fire, and so may others after them,—or if not, *tant pis!* The merchant feels he *must* be quick in a climate as trying as that of China. He has to snatch a fortune from the jaws of death;—and unless he make haste, it is more than probable he will only dig his own grave, and be snatched away himself. But on the other hand it must be confessed these are conditions sadly adverse to any attempt on the part of constituted authorities to provide for the future security and well-being of a foreign settlement at the expense of the present;—however small this may be, or great and permanent the other. I saw with the more satisfaction, therefore, that, despite of all this,—the Municipality, of which the foundations were laid in my day,—still survived as an institution; and

even under the strain of an enormous increase of property and population, did good service, — though manifestly becoming inadequate to meet the growing exigencies.

We left Shanghai for Nagasaki, after a delay of some days, having been detained by incessant rains, heavy enough even to prevent coaling. When it rains in Shanghai, it does so in earnest, — sets all waterproof devices at naught, and reduces the roads to a sea of mud, hardly passable except on stilts; — a state of things which materially diminishes any regret at leaving it.

I could not help reflecting, as we steamed out of the *Hwang-po* (the tributary river on which Shanghai is situated) that it would not be among the least curious or important of the incidental results attaching to the enlarged traffic and intercourse, even then rapidly developing between this port and Japan, that chiefly by and through the Chinese ports (the more nearly assimilated wants and tastes of the two races mainly aiding, in combination with the activity, enterprise, and capital of British merchants), a great trade, opening up the resources of both semi-secluded empires, should be developed. This was no part of the original design of the Western Powers in framing the recent treaties, but only thus was any foreign trade in the first instance created and developed. A Chinese trade with Japan already existed at Nagasaki, of very old date; and though much diminished in value and importance, like the Dutch, it still retained some vitality up to the date of the opening of new ports under treaties. Wants had been created the natural products of Japan could not (or did not) supply, for which they had been accustomed therefore to look to a foreign market; and thus the Japanese mind had been familiarised with the idea at least, that a foreign trade might exist with advantage to themselves. That the greater part of such Chinese trade would pass into foreign

hands, and ours more particularly, might safely be predicted from the beginning. But this carrying trade between China and Japan is not certainly the commerce to which we more especially desired to open the way by our treaty. Our aim and hope was to create a direct trade, by the interchange of Japanese products with British goods. Thus, as in a thousand instances, we are reminded of

> — 'a Divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them how we will.'

What we have sought and striven for may, indeed, be ultimately obtained; but neither in the way we looked for,—nor often with the results anticipated. The Chinese formed a natural and, to all appearance, a necessary link in the first developement of any large trade between Europe and Japan; — just as India has long been a connecting link with China. So, passing from things temporal to those that are spiritual, — may we not yet find that Roman Catholicism will form the connecting link between Paganism in its many idolatrous forms, and a purer Protestantism? Though I feel this is dangerous ground, and scarce know whether Romanists or Protestants would most vehemently repudiate as injurious any inference, that in the ways of Providence, either could be beholden to the other;—or the final propagation of Christianity among the heathen be dependent upon an order of progression,—still I have a strong conviction on the subject. The Jews, under an inspired leader, did not emerge out of Egyptian idolatry into a pure Theism, without many intervening stages of progress;—of semi-idolatry, and assimilations to the ceremonial and material worship they left behind. Man seems ill designed or constituted for such sudden leaps from darkness into light; and all past missionary experience, I think, goes far to enforce the unwelcome truth at which I am glancing,—that the abstract doctrines of a Protestant faith, find acceptance among a heathen and idolatrous races with infinitely greater difficulty than Romanism. Such is certainly the fact. It may admit of other and

better explanation perhaps, but this alone suggests itself to me as both adequate and satisfactory. With one reflection more I take my leave of China, which may one day exercise as much influence on the Western world, and its relations with the Eastern races, as we can ever hope to exercise on them. It has been ingeniously remarked by Mr. Mill, that the Chinese have succeeded beyond all hope, in what English philanthropists of the present day are so industriously working at,—in making people all alike, all governing their thoughts and conduct by the same axioms and rules. He goes on to say 'that the modern *régime* of public opinion is, in an unorganised form, what the Chinese educational and political system are in an organised; and, unless individuality shall be able successfully to assert itself against this yoke, Europe, notwithstanding its noble antecedents, and its professed Christianity, will tend to become another China.'

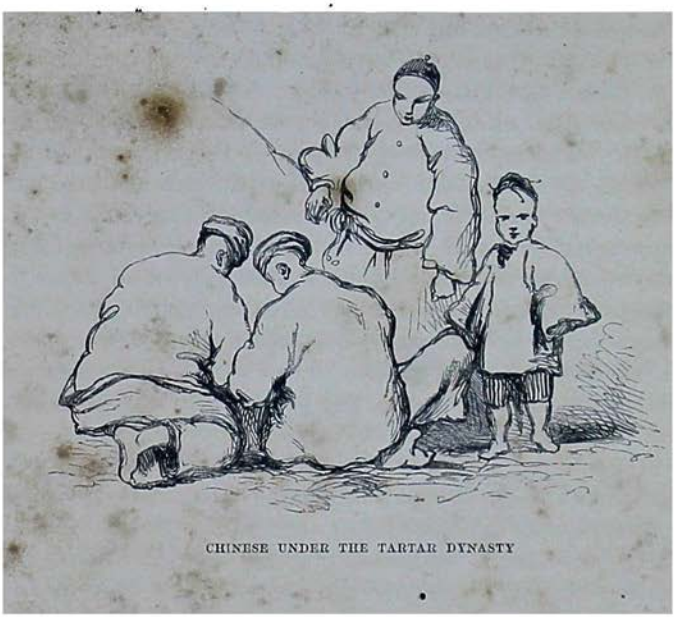
It is curious enough, that while all things tend to infuse into the Chinese mind ideas of progress, of change, and developement,—even at the price of great internal convulsions, and the destruction of material interests;—one of our most distinguished writers should see, in the tendency of our own habits and education, worldly and other, a retrograde action to the dead level mediocrity and immobility of the Chinese mind! If so, the two ends of the circle travelling from opposite points, may ultimately meet in Japan,—which seems scarcely less profoundly stirred up in its depths by the sudden contact of Europe, than China, but not so steadily bent on a collective mediocrity.

And now farewell to China. Its low, flat coast had long been invisible when I left the deck; and the Yangtze no longer divided the blue waves of the open sea with its mud-charged waters,—yellow and turbid in their course for many a mile. A fit symbol it seemed of the great empire through which it takes its troubled way; bearing onwards the disintegrated fragments of a material creation fast passing away, to be built up again, it may be, with new elements and in other forms. The

oldest empire will not last for ever, any more than the hills and mountains which this mighty river is slowly but surely carrying into the depths of the sea. So I took my leave of this empire of the 'Lord of ten thousand isles,' one of the many oriental titles of the sovereign who *reigns* over China, but certainly does not *govern*. His over-grown family of four hundred millions of 'black-haired children,' as he affectionately styles them, have led their 'father' an uneasy life for many long years past. Nor can the wisest see the end of all the troubles which distract the country, from the Great Wall to the borders of Nepaul.

How far the closer contact of foreign nations, and the presence of their Representatives in Pekin, may influence the final issue between the Emperor and his insurgent subjects;—or help to give the power now wanting, to put down the wandering hordes of banditti and malcontents with whom pillage is the end, and political change only the pretext,—is the problem now waiting solution by the progress of events. 'Far Cathay,' an appropriate title once, and no poetic fiction when Coleridge wrote, has ceased to be applicable to the empire of 'Kublai Khan.' Steam and railroad have placed London and Canton within six weeks of each other. It was but a few years since I heard one of the East India Company's servants, who had knelt in his youth before the throne of '*Taou Kwang*' (the late emperor's father), describe the long and weary twelve months that used to elapse before they could hope to receive an answer to their letters despatched to Europe from Canton! How their successors grumble now if the mail gun at Hongkong does not announce its arrival within forty-two days from Marseilles! Fewer *days* nearly than, a century ago, it required *weeks*. And more is yet promised. Soon the electric telegraph may flash intelligence from Pekin to St. James's in less than as many hours, viâ Siberia and St. Petersburg. It is idle then to talk of distance, the true measure of which is Time. If it take longer to penetrate into the

heart of 'Old Castile' than to reach Canton, we are to all intents nearer to the latter; and Pekin is infinitely farther from Canton, than Canton itself is from London, for access, traffic, or communication. This is one of those suggestive facts, which appear full of promise, in regard not only to the relations of Europe with China, but to the destinies of the Chinese Empire and race,—though pregnant with change and not exempt from danger. It must needs be so, whether Treaty Powers in their wisdom desire it or not. With or without their consent (it may well be without their prescience), influences are already active,—calculated to bring about great changes among the Chinese, and in their intercourse with Western nations. And they are precisely the influences over which there is the least control to be exercised by governments, even were they more clearly recognised.



CHINESE UNDER THE TARTAR DYNASTY

CHAPTER II.

VOYAGE TO NAGASAKI — JAPAN AS IT WAS, OR A GLANCE AT THE JAPANESE CHRONICLES, AND WHAT THEY TELL US.

SQUALLS and gales with drenching rain, and a pitching sea every now and then sweeping in at the sternports, if in a moment of misplaced confidence they had been opened for air and light, were the chief incidents of the passage from China to Japan; and this in the 'pleasant month of May'—a description by no means applicable in these latitudes.

We see the land at last; a long sweep of coast with a bold outline: but where? at what point? No sun for an observation from day to day; you may be near your port, but dare not run on in the night through a dense sea-fog; so the good ship stops her course and 'lies to' for the night. The next morning finds you 'as you were,' wind 'dead ahead,' squalls and rain or haze the only alternations, the sun your only hope, — and nothing apparently more hopeless than its appearance. You console yourself by the reflection that a blanket is desirable at night, and a pea-jacket of the thicker sort an essential by day. But how long it is to last, no one can tell. To the end of the wet season? As much time almost may be consumed in going from Hong Kong to Yeddo, as is required to reach China from England!

One of the first steps towards the opening of a direct trade with Great Britain would seem to be a good survey of the Japanese coasts, and the erection of lighthouses or beacons; — some landmarks that may supply the place of an observation, and enable the navigator, when he makes the coast, — to tell his whereabouts, and how to shape

his course. I made great efforts immediately after my arrival to obtain the services of our surveying ships in the China Seas; — but the war and other circumstances prevented success until, in 1861, a beginning to supply the deficiency was made. Captain Capella of the Dutch Navy, in command of H.N.M.S. the 'Balli,' had in the meantime made a sort of commencement, by taking his ship through the inland sea or strait, stretching between the islands of Kiusiu, Sikok, and Nipon, and coasting round the latter to Hakodadi and Neëagata; — the port on the west coast, which by treaty was to be opened to foreign trade on January 1, 1861. His report, however, only tended to show how great was the necessity of accurate surveys.

While thus 'lying to' in the trough of the Japanese Seas, hoping against hope for better times, and a glimpse of sunshine; — I tried to look into the sources of all our existing information on the country and the people, so long and successfully secluded from the enquiring European; — and soon now to be laid open to all comers.

'To let the reader see Japan with the successive eyes of all those who have visited it' — 'Japan as it was and is,' the declared object of more than one of the recent compilations on Japan, is a very laudable one, no doubt, — but who is to write the book? 'Japan as it was and is' must obviously be for other hands than those of writers who merely compile in New York or London from what has been already written by the few attachés of the Dutch factory; — who at long intervals gave to the public the results of their very limited opportunities of personal observation. Something of what Japan is, and promises to be in its connection with foreign nations, I hope to tell as I go on; — but, in the meanwhile, let me fill up the dreary blank of a voyage to the coast, through mist and rain and baffling winds, — by a sketch of Japan and the Japanese, if not as they *were*, at least as they appeared and have been already painted by others, with more or less of accuracy, according to their power and opportunities.

The sources from which such information is to be drawn

are not very numerous. The letters of some of the early Portuguese and Spanish missionaries before their final expulsion from the country in 1642; the pilgrimages or voyages of various navigators compiled by Purchas, and embodying much of the information accessible two centuries ago; — lastly, the contributions from chiefs and medical officers of the Dutch factory complete the list. And the last of these were shut up in Decima, except during a journey every three or four years to the capital, well guarded and caged in their 'norimons' or sedan chairs — cages, indeed, from the windows of which they might obtain, if they could stoop low enough, a sort of telescopic view of the country they were passing through. The writers have generally been the medical men attached to the factory, at intervals of half a century from each other. First Kœmpfer, then Thunberg, and lastly Siebold still living, and for some time in the service of the Dutch Government; all foreigners — Swedish or German.

Japan, as it appeared to them, in its government and institutions — no longer the New Atlantis which 'Marco Millione' of Venetian memory had two centuries earlier invested with strange wealth of 'gold and pearls and precious stones' — was still to them a land with a certain charm attaching to it, from the mystery in which the governing powers enveloped both the country and the people. Then, as more recently, there was a strange proneness to look upon all they were allowed to see, through a screen and by stealth, as something wondrous and Utopian. Here especially it seems to have been 'omne ignotum pro magnifico.' Like Don Quixote, whose imagination invested a roadside inn, and its serving-wenches of questionable repute, with attributes of romance which left nothing to be desired, — writers on Japan have hitherto seen everything through highly coloured glasses, and generally of a Claude Lorraine hue. They remind one of Dr. Pangloss, who 'likes everything and everybody, and believes everything is the very best, in the best of all possible worlds.' Some difficulty may, therefore, naturally be looked for, in

identifying the people and scenes, when the hard practical understanding of the nineteenth century is brought to bear on the same features and institutions.

I felt we soon should be in the way of knowing in sober truth this modern Utopia as it really is; how the Empire is constituted and governed, how the people live and work and trade; — and, though last not least, what they are likely to want, which Manchester or Birmingham can supply. What they are in a position to give us in return was not the least interesting part of the question, despite the phraseology of protocols and treaties, and the 'disinterestedness' of Treaty Powers, of which the less said the better perhaps. Nations do not generally go to the expense or trouble of making treaties without a due regard to their own interests; and although we have heard very recently of nations making war for an idea, it seldom turns out to be an abstract idea, and is apt to take — a very solid form in the concrete.

Has the universal experience of mankind left this lesson yet to be learned by any race or nation, East or West? I should say, from no short experience of Eastern races, that these, of all others, are least likely to be imposed upon by pretensions to a disinterestedness that has no real existence; and that sound policy would dictate a perfectly straightforward course in all our dealings with them. We are too apt, perhaps, to treat them as children, and tell them nursery stories, forgetting that they have long outgrown the age when these are calculated to raise anything but a smile of incredulity; — and sink deeper in their hearts a conviction of our want of truth and honesty. Considering their natural tendency to distrust, this, to say the least, is superfluous; — and without much sense or wisdom to recommend it. Those who have lived longest in the East, and had the largest intercourse with all ranks, best know, perhaps, that the first element of success and influence, among both rulers and people, is honesty of purpose; — never belied by evasion or subterfuge, but carried out with the courage that dictates truth, and even

frankness—far oftener than the uninitiated are willing to believe.

You tell an Eastern potentate or official that squadrons have been put in motion, and ambassadors sent from the other side of the globe in the purest disinterestedness, desiring only to confer benefits, and enter into trade for their advantage, — or the advancement of civilisation; — and while he pays you back in coin of the same alloy, always at his command, telling you 'so it must be,' 'for all men are brothers' and the 'great Buddha,' or 'Fo,' or 'Allah' is over all,— he will bow or salaam you out, with the profoundest contempt for your wisdom, in thinking that he could be imposed upon by such transparent lies!

It is to be hoped that we may teach the Japanese both to respect and trust us, by making no vain pretensions to this apocryphal benevolence and disinterestedness, — in nations or in governments. All permanent relations of amity between different countries must — in these days at least — be based on mutual interests or advantages; and any attempt to build them up, or sustain them on any other foundation than this, only ends in failure.

History often furnishes plain lessons of morality as well as policy to those who can read aright; but it is not often that they are written in such clear and unmistakeable characters as those supplied by China and Japan. And, curiously enough, there is between the two countries, isolated as they have always been from each other, but with which Europeans had contemporaneously in the sixteenth century such free and cordial intercourse, a parallelism so perfect, in all that took place with each — in the events, their remote and immediate causes, and the final effects, no less than in the periods and successive phases — that it would almost seem as though the lesson to be conveyed to mankind, for all future time, had been deemed too important to be given only once; — and was therefore twice repeated with different races, and under analogous conditions, to make it more indelible and impressive. So let us turn over the pages and read as we run, for the

handwriting on the wall of Belshazzar's palace was not more plain; and as the mist is thickening around, and no land still can be seen — while a tumbling sea makes all efforts at the perpendicular vain and illusory — we shall certainly have traversed the three centuries which lie behind us before there is a chance of walking through Nagasaki.

When the three Portuguese adventurers, under the guidance of their Chinese-junk captain, — without any credentials, and all of doubtful antecedents, — first made their appearance, driven by stress of weather, rather than their own goodwill, to an unknown coast, it proved to be that part of Japan owning the sovereignty of the Prince of Bungo; — and we find the Japanese, though vigilant, manifested no reluctance to admit the strangers. They showed them much kindness even, and no obstacle was interposed to a free trade with the inhabitants, in the interchange of such commodities as they had with them. The natives and strangers were ultimately so well pleased with each other that, by an arrangement with the Prince of Bungo, a Portuguese ship was to be sent annually 'laden with *woollen cloths*, *furs*, *silks*, *taffetas*, and other commodities *needed by the Japanese*.' This was the commencement of European intercourse and trade, carrying us back to 1542–5.

A few years later *Hansiro*, a Japanese noble, fled his country for 'an act of homicide' (having run some fellow subject through the body no doubt) and took refuge in Goa. There he was converted and baptised.

This proved the second link in the chain; for being enterprising and shrewd, and animated probably with the hot zeal of a new convert, he soon persuaded the merchants of Goa, nothing loath we may imagine, that they might establish a profitable trade with Japan; while to the Jesuit fathers he promised a rich harvest of souls. He obviously preached to willing ears in both directions, and foremost among his listeners was the Jesuit apostle of the East, Francis Xavier, who had recently arrived.

A ship was forthwith loaded with goods and presents wherewith to commence a permanent trade. For the accomplishment of spiritual objects, Francis Xavier himself embarked with the Japanese refugee, and a number of his order as missionaries. A goodly freight — Jesuit fathers to win souls — merchants to make money: — merchandise for the people and their carnal wants — presents to propitiate the authorities, — all were duly provided; and thus auspiciously began this second chapter.

On arriving at Bungo they were received with open arms, and not the slightest opposition was made to the introduction of either trade or religion. No system of exclusion then existed; and such was the spirit of toleration, that the Government made no objection to the open preaching of Christianity. Indeed, the Portuguese were freely permitted to go where they pleased in the empire, and to travel from one end of it to the other. 'The people freely bought the goods of the traders, and listened to the teaching of the missionaries.'

And a little later we find it said that — 'if the feudal princes were ever at any time ready to quarrel with the merchant, it was because he would not come to their ports.' Passing onward a few years, we find the Christianity of the Jesuit fathers spreading rapidly and universally: princes and rulers, nobles and plebeians, women and children, of all ranks and in large numbers, embraced the faith. Churches, Hospitals, Convents and Schools, were scattered over the country. Intermarriages between the Portuguese and wealthy Japanese were frequent. So little had Christianity to fear from the disposition of the governing powers, or the temper of the people, that the only opposition they encountered in these early years of promise and fruitful labour, came from the Bonzes, or native priesthood; and they seem to have been powerless. For we read that, feeling their religion and influence discredited by the rapid adoption of a rival and hostile creed, they appealed to the emperor, 'to banish the Jesuit and Romish monks;' and it is related, 'that annoyed

by their importunities, he asked them how many different religions there were in Japan?' They answered 'thirty-five.' 'Well,' said the emperor, 'when thirty-five religions can be tolerated, we can easily bear with thirty-six: leave the strangers in peace.'

After forty years, the Roman Catholic faith was in such high esteem, and had such undisputed possession of the field (no Protestant element having at that time appeared on the scene), that a Japanese embassy, composed of three princes, was sent to Rome to Pope Gregory XIII., with letters and valuable presents. Their reception at Rome was not only magnificent, but their whole progress through Spain and Italy was one continued ovation. 'A nation of thirty millions of civilised and intelligent people had been won from the heathen!' Great indeed was the joy and triumph, — and this was the culminating point of the Church's success.

In that same hour, while the artillery of St. Angelo answered by the guns of the Vatican, was thundering a welcome to the Japanese ambassadors,—an edict had gone forth from the Kubo-sama or sovereign lord of Japan, banishing all Catholic missionaries within six months, on pain of death; and ordering all the crosses to be thrown down, and all the churches to be razed to the ground.

When the Jesuit Superior, Père Valignani, returned with the ambassadors, after an absence of eight years (so long had it taken to exchange amenities across distant seas and foreign lands in those days), he found this edict in force, and partially carried out. The old King of Bungo, the great protector of the Jesuits, was dead,—his successor ill-disposed. All their Christian communities, schools, and hospitals, had been suppressed; and the missionaries dispersed, expelled, or forced into concealment. There are few more striking examples of the instability of human affairs; and it must have been a cruel blow to Valignani, as the Superior of the Order,—so long happy and successful in all his efforts.

We enter on the third and last phase of this eventful

history. The first edict for the banishment of the missionaries was published in June 1587. All that follows is but a narrative of partially interrupted persecutions, the decay of trade,—increasing restrictions, and at last the expulsion of all,—amid scenes of martyrdom and sweeping destruction. In the year 1635, the Portuguese were shut up in Decima, and only allowed to trade there, amidst, it is said, the jeers and derision of their Dutch rivals.

A year or two later the fall of the last Christian stronghold, Simabara, battered in breach by the Dutch artillery, under Kockebecker, marked the final catastrophe; and the close of all relations but the miserable ones allowed to the Dutch factory, which an avenging Nemesis transferred to the prison bounds of their ruined rivals in Decima. Since that date until recent treaties were signed, no Japanese had been allowed to leave his island home, nor foreigners to land. All who had been cast on shore, or made the attempt, had either been killed or imprisoned. Great must be the power wielded by the rulers of this strange country, thus, for two centuries, to succeed in preventing the departure of a single Japanese subject! Yet such appears to be the fact, though before this edict they were enterprising sailors, and, if we may believe the records of the period, not only traded with the Indian archipelago, but even extended their voyages as far as South America. Thus briefly we have the whole history of European intercourse (for the few attempts made by the British and French to take part were too feeble and interrupted to be worthy of much note), and two questions press themselves on the attention of all who read. Whence the seemingly sudden and violent change in the policy of the Japanese? And, was it sudden in reality, or of slow and insidious growth,—which only came suddenly upon Europeans, because they blinded themselves to the signs of change, and indications of danger,—otherwise plainly enough to be discerned, had any one looked with clear and intelligent eye?

The accounts of the period are full of details of feuds between the different monastic orders—of the pride, avarice,

and overbearing arrogance of the priests—the over-reaching and insatiable cupidity of the Portuguese and Spanish merchants—which latter charges are not even limited to the laymen. But, admitting all these causes to have been in operation, and exercising the influence which belongs to them,—it is impossible to doubt that other and more profound causes of distrust and dissatisfaction chiefly moved Taiko-sama, when laying the foundation of his usurped empire, to irreconcileable enmity,—directed more especially, if not altogether and exclusively, against the *Padres* of every order—and their converts. One cause of such enmity lies, indeed, on the surface.

The great success of the Jesuits and missionaries of various monastic orders had been based, in part at least, on the shifting sands of political favour and influence with the feudatory princes in their several territories; a turbulent race, as was the same class in the days of the early French and English kings:—not always at peace with each other, and often in league against their Suzerain. One of the most obvious conditions of strength to the latter was the abasement and weakening of the nobles. Taiko-sama, in order to strengthen and render hereditary his sovereign power, necessarily therefore set himself to this task—as did Louis XI. and, later, Richelieu and Louis XIV., in France.

Whatever was identified with the Feudal chiefs could not fail to share the fate of an order doomed to destruction or humiliation. While the Jesuit, therefore, sought to promote the objects of his mission by favour of Princes and court influence, and, for a time, reaped great fruit therefrom,—these same Feudatory princes were looking to force and intrigue to advance their own interests, and uphold their cause against an ambitious and successful general, who had seized the quasi sceptre. That both the princes—and their protégés, the missionaries—should be involved in a common ruin, was in the nature of things to be expected, and indeed inevitable. If one feudatory prince protected Christianity, it was equally open to his

successor or rival to attack and persecute it. The spiritual guide who had put his trust in Princes and the Sword, found all the aid of man impotent to save, when the hour of trial and persecution came. They had built upon a mundane foundation with the aid of sword and buckler, and by the same was their ruin effected.

But beneath all this lay other causes, wider and more penetrating, as well as more permanent in their influence. Another and far more fatal element of destruction had been slowly but surely preparing the way for the final catastrophe from the beginning,—undermining the very ground on which the whole spiritual edifice was built, whether Jesuit or Augustinian, Franciscan or Dominican, Spaniard or Portuguese, fashioned the walls.

The determining cause of the downfall and utter destruction of the Roman Church in Japan is to be sought in the pretension to a spiritual supremacy, which is but another name for the monopoly of power, since all that is political or secular must bow to God's vice-regent on earth, who claims the right to bind and to loosen, to absolve subjects of their oath and fealty, and dethrone kings by his edict. This pretension to supremacy, and papal infallibility — to a power as unlimited as it is irresponsible, has been woven into the very texture and fabric of the Church of Rome, and has long been considered inseparable from it.

The Japanese rulers, who, during nearly fifty years successively never relaxed in their policy to extirpate out of the land all trace of the missionaries and their teaching; and were deterred by no difficulties, — no sacrifice of life or commercial advantages, and never stopped until their object was finally accomplished,—clearly saw that between them and such teachers there could be neither peace nor truce. The two systems were necessarily antagonistic and mutually destructive. The Siogun must veil his power to the higher pretensions of the Pope and the priests, — hold it from their hands, liable to be dispossessed at their pleasure;—or be engaged in interminable conflict, all the more

dangerous, that spiritual weapons would be brought to bear, as well as the arm of flesh, by his adversaries of the cowl and rosary. Taiko-sama, a man of no ordinary gifts apparently, who first engaged in a war to the death, and issued the edict of extermination, must indeed have been something more than dull, not to have his doubts raised and his worst conclusions verified by the tenour of the letters to the Pope, given by the three feudal princes to their ambassadors.

Hear how they run. Thus writes the Prince of Bungo: 'To him who ought to be adored and who holds the place of the King of heaven, the great and very holy Pope;' and, in the body of the letter, he continues in the same strain: 'Your holiness (who holds the place of God on earth).'

The King of Arima addresses himself 'to the very great and holy lord, whom I adore, because he holds on earth the place of God himself.'

The Prince of Omara goes, if possible, farther: 'With hands raised towards heaven, and sentiments of profound admiration, I adore the most holy Pope, who holds the place of God on earth.'

With what feelings must Taiko-sama have spelled over these acts of homage to an alien sovereign, by three of the leading feudatory princes of the empire, when the death of Nobunanga in 1582, the sovereign friend of the missionaries, threw the reins of power into his hands? There is an absurd story told of the Siogun's jealousy having first been roused by the indiscreet answer of a Spaniard, who, on being asked how his master had managed to possess himself of half the world, replied: 'He commenced by sending priests who win over the people, and, when this is done, his troops are despatched to join the Christian, and the conquest is easy and complete.' I say it is absurd, because, in the first place, the account of the process then in vogue is much too near the truth to have been openly told by one of the chief agents;—and next, it was too palpably calculated to lead to the expulsion

of the narrator and all his race. Nor was any such plain-spoken traveller needed. Taiko-sama must have been blind not to have seen whither the Church of Rome was tending; and how irreconcileable were its pretensions and his own.

Another law than that of the Japanese empire had been introduced; and other Rulers and administrators than those nominated by either Mikado or Siogun (the titular and the effective rulers of Japan) were in full exercise of their functions, claiming from Japanese subjects, once become converts, fealty and implicit obedience to the Church's commands — an obedience which might at any time be turned against the authority and rule of the territorial Sovereign. There was nothing very far-fetched in the conclusion, or monstrous in the assumption, that such was the tendency of the Church polity. That same sovereign of Spain, whose dominions, Taiko-sama heard, had been extended over half the world by priestly aid, had actually moved the Pope to issue a bull to dethrone the Queen of England in favour of another pretender to the crown,— to raise up conspirators among her subjects, and release them from all oaths or ties of allegiance.

This and no other cause, it is impossible to doubt, led to the final expulsion of every European, the extermination of every Christian convert, and the closing of every port for two centuries. The annihilation of commerce and material interests was merely a necessary consequence of the close connection that had subsisted between the professors of religion and the traders,— taken in connection with their common nationality.

And this, now that the Japanese, yielding to major force and an obvious necessity, have entered into Treaties with foreign powers, will undoubtedly still sow distrust and misgiving in the minds of the Japanese rulers. And how should it be otherwise? The Church of Rome has undergone no change, neither have the pretensions to supreme and undisputed power in the Mikado and

Tycoon, (however shared between them,) been modified. Why should we expect the Japanese to change in their estimate of the true tendency of the Church system and doctrines? The repugnance which the Protestant sovereign feels to hand over to the keeping of a spiritual confessor and director, the consciences of his subjects—and their individual right of judgement, may well be allowed to the Rulers of a heathen people, in no degree inferior to many European populations in intelligence, wealth, and industry,—and far before many, in their long-cherished and well-defended national independence.

If these matters regarded only the past, I should scarcely have introduced the subject. But in plain truth, they are things which have sprung again into life under recent treaties. Actualities which we must be prepared to meet face to face, and from day to day, — contributing as they will in no slight degree to the difficulties and complications naturally to be anticipated in the renewal of long-interrupted relations, between two races so entirely distinct as the European and Japanese, and one of these so long in hostile isolation.

As to the leading causes, in mercantile affairs, of depreciation and injury, which two centuries ago may have helped the religious grounds of quarrel;—instead of forming, as they might and ought to have formed, a counterpoise to stay the relentless march of persecution, little more need be said. Inordinate cupidity,— an over-reaching spirit of gain, not content with fair and mutually advantageous terms of exchange,— may make a few men suddenly rich, but never can build up a permanent trade of national importance. More than this,— it is very evident no trade can assume those characters of largeness and permanence with mutual benefit in the results (all conditions essential to the developement of national commerce), where one of the countries must pay for all its imports in the precious metals. Gold and silver may well be treated as commodities in the commerce of European nations, because, though some imports may, by each, be paid for in the

precious metals, the bulk taken will always be in exchange for a native produce;—while some of this in turn may be bought by other countries for gold, and thus any great drain or displacement of gold and silver is prevented. It has not hitherto, or always been so in the dealings of Western countries with the East. This 'leaking out' of the silver in China;—of the 'bones and marrow of the land' in Japan (to use their own characteristic phraseology) has in each country raised a strong feeling of hostility to all foreign trade, among the ruling classes in both. The experience of the past, therefore, seems strongly to enforce this one lesson;—that if we would see foreign trade popular in Japan, and placed under conditions of healthy developement,—we must find among their raw or manufactured products other articles of exchange than the precious metals. The quantities of these reported to have been shipped by the Portuguese, and later by the Dutch in the old period, is something incredible. They were enormous, however, beyond doubt, and furnish a plain proof first, that there must have been large and productive mines,—and next, that a very disproportionate value must have been exacted for the European goods. The large and increasing drain on the precious metals, coupled with the small returns in European fabrics, there can be no question, must have greatly disgusted the Japanese,—rendered foreign trade unpopular, and formed the fittest preparation for the edict closing the country to foreigners altogether. Thus it is that by an over-reaching spirit we 'o'erleap and fall on t' other side.' Where individuals are allowed to seek their own profit *per fas et nefas*, it needs no prophet to tell, that the ruin of all who come after them is the only end that can be anticipated. One set of traders may be enriched, but a *nation* requires that the goose which lays the golden eggs should not be killed for the purpose, but sedulously nurtured and cared for, in the interest of succeeding generations. Fortunately, one rock on which all the traders of a former time in Japan made

wreck has been removed out of their path. Merchants of different countries may indeed vilify each other as in olden times, if it pleases them,—unwarned by the obvious depreciation of *all*, which was the only final result; but there is some consolation in the thought that the strongest motive for such a line of action is removed. Monopolies of the trade of any country are happily no longer possibilities, and only to be numbered with things of the past,—which no blindness of the many, or selfishness of the few, can ever resuscitate. Moreover in the present day competition secures even the less civilised of Eastern races from Western greed and extortionate prices. Nor are they in danger now of taking more of our manufactures than we are willing to take of their produce. The balance of trade is likely to be quite the other way at first, if not for a long period to come.*

In glancing over the history of the Past, one cannot avoid being struck with the important part which accidents, and circumstances often seemingly the most fortuitous and trivial, played in the first discovery of Japan, no less than its subsequent relations with Europe.

To Marco Paolo's imprisonment at Genoa, after his return from China, we owe the stirring narrative, which 200 years later fired the imagination of Columbus, and sent him Westward in quest of new worlds. And thus to dreams of *Japan* we are indebted in no small degree for the discovery of America in the sixteenth century! To a half-piratical, half-trading expedition of three Portuguese adventurers in a Chinese junk, driven they knew not whither by stress of weather, is due the first discovery of Japan itself:—and to the escape of Hansiro,—

* This has been abundantly verified in the course of the three years past. The Japanese have bought little—next to nothing—and that little only in exchange. The foreign trade of a million sterling annually which has been created, has consisted chiefly of exports of Japanese produce, Silk and Tea; the greater part of which has been paid for in silver, imported into the country for that purpose, in the absence of any considerable demand for European manufactures. Precisely the same results are to be seen in the Foreign trade with China of late years — notwithstanding the vast increase in the import of opium — from 7,000 chests to 70,000 in less than a quarter of a century. We take twice as much tea and silk as they are willing to take of manufactured goods and opium combined.

and the 'homicide' which was the cause of his flight, the first introduction of Christianity is to be traced. Finally, to Will Adams's imprisonment in the cells of Lisbon, and his frequent colloquy with fellow-prisoners (Portuguese sailors who had been in Japan), the Dutch and English are *both* indebted for their first introduction, and commencement of commercial relations with the country. Not only accidents — but crime, personal misfortunes and calamities, — homicide, and imprisonment, seem to have played by far the most important part, and to have been the very pivots on which great events, — entirely hidden from the actors, — were made to turn. They were blind carvers of a nation's destiny, when most exclusively bent on fashioning their own.

One more noteworthy fact and strange coincidence, before I try again to peer through mist and rain for the long-desired shores of Nagasaki Bay;—while Simabara, the tomb of Christianity in Japan, is close at hand, suggesting the coincidence in question. In that same year, when the last of the Roman Catholic converts were buried under the ruins of the captured city, or hurled from the rocky islet of Pappenberg, in the Bay of Nagasaki, — a few exiles landed at Plymouth, in the newly-discovered continent, where they were destined to plant the seeds of a Protestant faith, and a great Protestant empire. Thus strangely, the same era which saw thousands of converts to that Church from which those Pilgrim Fathers had seceded, martyrised, and the Romanist faith trampled out with unsparing violence on one side of the globe, — marked the foundations of a Protestant church in the other hemisphere, destined rapidly to spread the Gospel over a whole continent. And it was the descendants of these same Pilgrim Fathers who two centuries later, in the cycle of events, were the first among Western nations to supply the link of connection wanted, — to bring the lapsed heathen race once more within the circle of Christian communion, and invite them anew, to take their place in the family of civilised nations.

A century after the final expulsion of foreigners we

may see how Japan and its people, their customs and institutions, appeared to a man of intelligence and observation, by taking the Swedish physician, Thunberg, for our guide. Fresh from a country in Europe,—Sweden, —where feudal institutions were still in force, he would seem to have been peculiarly well fitted to enter into the spirit and meaning of the fundamental axioms of the Japanese Government. Yet, if we are to credit Thunberg (and as to the reality of the impressions there is no room for doubt), things seemingly similar, so far from appearing to him to produce like results, wrought only oppression and wrong in Sweden —and in Japan, the perfection of order, law, and justice! Discontent and attempts at revolution in the one;—social order, peace, and prosperity in the other. Let us listen to him, long after he had got over the first salutations of the little nudities in the streets of Nagasaki, taking him for a Dutchman, and expressing their wonder at the large round eyes of the European, by crying after him 'Hollande Ome!'—which sounds very like the sort of slang facetiousness not unfamiliar to the juvenile members of our own street populations. Long after these first facts and impressions had been tempered and corrected by after knowledge, he tells his readers that 'Japan is in many respects a singular country, and with regard to customs and institutions totally different from Europe, or, I had almost said, from any other part of the world. Of all the nations that inhabit the three largest parts of the globe, the Japanese deserve to rank the first, and to be compared with the Europeans; and although in many points they must yield the palm to the latter, yet in various other respects they may with great justice be preferred to them. Here, indeed, as well as in other countries, are found both useful and pernicious establishments, both rational and absurd institutions; yet still we must admire the steadiness which constitutes the national character, the immutability which reigns in the administration of their laws and in the exercise of their public functions, the unwearied assiduity of this nation to do, and to

promote what is useful, and a hundred other things of a similar nature.' 'That so numerous a people as this should love so ardently and so universally (without even a single exception to the contrary) their native country, their Government, and each other — that the whole country should be, as it were, enclosed, so that no native can get out, nor foreigner enter in, without permission—that their laws should have remained unaltered for several thousand (hundred?) years—and that justice should be administered without partiality or respect of persons — that the governments can neither become despotic nor evade the laws in order to grant pardons or do other acts of mercy—that the monarch and all his subjects should be clad alike in a particular national dress — that no fashions should be adopted from abroad, nor new ones invented at home — that no foreign war should have been waged for centuries past — that a great variety of religious sects should live in peace and harmony together — that hunger and want should be almost unknown, or at least known but seldom,—all this must appear improbable, and to many as impossible as it is strictly true, and deserving of the utmost attention.'

Certainly, of the whole catalogue of wonderful conditions presented by this view of the Japanese people and Government, the most extraordinary and marvellous to Europeans must be the last two — a great variety of religious sects living together in harmony, and,— hunger and famine almost unknown in a nation of thirty millions or more, inhabiting a set of islands not larger than Great Britain and Ireland, and in something like the same geographical position.

And nowhere should such a state of things appear more enviable than in England, where we are too much open perhaps to Voltaire's reproach of building 'palaces for our felons and prisons for our poor.' If the secret by which such admirable effects as Thunberg describes are secured could only be communicated, what country is there in Europe that would not be better for knowing it? What a blessing the secret of religious harmony would be to many countries

—from Syria to Spitzbergen! All the other good things enumerated sink into a wholly secondary rank by the side of these. And yet what farther blessings are combined in the uniform administration of laws and justice (exchangeable terms it seems in Japan), undeviating uniformity of costume, absence of all foreign wars and intestine feuds, of foot soldiers and income-tax, with the crowning gift of food to the poor — who always get their bellies full! These are miracles which, to see repeated in old England and Ireland, might well repay an expedition even to Japan 'beyond the farthermost end of Asia to the East.'

But Thunberg has more to tell us. 'If the laws in this country are rigid, the police are equally vigilant, while discipline and good order are scrupulously observed. The happy consequences of this are extremely visible and important, for hardly any country exhibits fewer instances of vice. And as no respect whatever is paid to persons, and at the same time the laws preserve their pristine and original purity, without any alterations, explanations, and misconstructions, the subjects not only imbibe, as they grow up, an infallible knowledge of what ought or ought not to be done, but are likewise enlightened by the example and irreproachable conduct of their superiors in age.'

'Most crimes are punished with death, a sentence which is inflicted with less regard to the magnitude of the crime than to the audacity of the attempt to transgress the hallowed laws of the empire, and to violate justice, which together with religion they consider as the most sacred things in the whole land. Fines and pecuniary mulcts they regard as equally repugnant to justice and reason, as the rich are thereby freed from all punishment — a procedure which to them appears the height of absurdity.'

'In the towns it often happens that the inhabitants of a whole street are made to suffer for the malpractice of a single individual, the master of a house for the faults of his domestics, and parents for those of their children, in proportion to the share they may have had in the transaction. In Europe, which boasts a purer religion and a more

enlightened philosophy, we very rarely see those punished who have debauched and seduced others, never see parents and relatives made to suffer for neglecting the education of their children and kindred, at the same time that these heathens see the justice and propriety of such punishment.'

True, there is a slight shadow to this brilliant tableau. The prisons, we are told, in this paradise of law and justice are, 'as in most others, gloomy and horrid; the rooms are, however, kept clean and wholesome, and consist of an apartment for the trial by torture, and another for private executions,—besides a kitchen, a dining-room, and a bath!'

A strange juxtaposition this, of rooms for torture and death, with such ample provision for the creature comforts in a kitchen, and dining-room—and even for luxury, in a bath! But we were warned in the beginning that we should find Japan in many respects a singular country.

Nearly a century later an American went over some of the same ground, and with Republican notions he supplies us with the other side of the medal. The working of their much-admired institutions does not appear to Commodore Perry's historian altogether so commendable. Here is the opinion at length of the practical American who looked to final effects principally.

'The sitter is the same, and, what is more, he sits on his heels to-day just as his grandfather did to Thunberg, yet it is hard to see any points of resemblance,—a lesson to all theologians and politicians who still indulge the dream that uniformity of opinion on the plainest matters of fact and observation can ever be attained among men, however honest and conscientious they may be in their efforts after unity. The Chinese proverb with more wisdom declares, "Truth is one, but opinions are many."

'All officials serve in pairs, as spies upon each other, and this pervades the entire polity of Japan. It is a government of espionage. Everybody is watched. No man knows who are the secret spies around him, even

though he may be and is acquainted with those that are official. The emperors themselves are not exempt; governors, grand councillors, vassal princes, all are under the eye of an everlasting unknown police. This wretched system is even extended to the humblest of the citizens. Every town is divided into collections of five families, and every member of such a division is personally responsible for the conduct of the others; everything which occurs, therefore, out of the ordinary course in any one of these is instantly reported by the other four, to save themselves from censure. The Ziogoon has his minions about the Mikado, and the Grand Council have theirs about the Ziogoon. And the cowardice engendered by such ceaseless distrust necessarily leads to cruelty in penalties. When an official has offended, or even when in his department there has been any violation of law, although beyond his power of prevention, so sure is he of the punishment of death, that he anticipates it by ripping up his own body, rather than be delivered over to the executioner, and entailing disgrace and ruin on all his family. There cannot under such a system be anything like judicious legislation founded on inquiry, and adapted to the ever-varying circumstances of life. As Government functionaries, they lie and practise artifice to save themselves from condemnation by the higher powers: it is their vocation. As private gentlemen, they are frank, truthful, and hospitable.'

These facts present a seeming anomaly, and yet I am not sure that something very like it, and differing only in degree, may not be found nearer home. The severity of the Japanese laws is excessive, the code is probably the bloodiest in the world; for death is the penalty of most offences. But the Japanese seem to proceed on the principle that he who violates one law will violate any other, and that the *wilful* violator is unworthy to live. Does not the religion of the Gospel teach something very like it? "Verily, I say unto you, he who is guilty of the least of these, is guilty of all."

A still more recent American writer supplies another estimate of what may be the value of these Utopian institutions, though his field of observation seems to have been limited to Nagasaki, where Foreign civilisation and Chinese combined (for a colony of the latter exists there) seem already to have mingled in no purifying streams with native sources; and, as he modestly observes, 'a residence of five weeks is an imperfect qualification for descanting on the character of a people.' It is quite true, however, that to an intelligent observer there are some features visible at a glance, from which inferences may very justly be drawn. Among these he mentions —'Crimes against property are not frequent, being repressed evidently by a strong and almost omniscient Government, yet street broils are of common occurrence. The people seem well to do and contented, yet mendacity and drunkenness are far from being rare. Woman appears to hold a higher rank in this than in any Asiatic country, yet prostitution is fostered by Government and approved by moralists.'

Of the higher arcana and machinery of Government, so much lauded by our optimist Thunberg, Dr. Macgowan, his American confrère of a later century, takes another 'stand point of view,' and of necessity a different impression is the result.

'There has been effected here, what priestcraft and kingcraft nearly attained with us, and by a singular coincidence, at the time when Western Europe was in course of emancipation, Eastern Asia was being brought into servitude not less efficient than that which menaced our fathers. Espionage accomplishes what the confessional aims at. Yet the system of espionage, an abomination to foreigners, loses much of its repulsiveness when viewed from a Japan stand-point. It is only carrying to an extreme the justly-lauded censorate of China. Espionage performs the functions of a press. It exercises a wholesome restraint upon delegated powers, sitting light upon intelligent and upright officers, who regard

these spies with no more disfavour than our treasurers their auditors. How much misery would be averted from China if the Imperial Government were cognisant of official misdemeanours in the provinces. Nearly all the maladies of that empire may be ascribed to the ignorance in which the Sovereign is kept of what transpires beyond the precincts of the palace. Japan, it must be confessed, furnishes the best apology for despotism that the world affords. The Government is omniscient, and consequently strong and stable. The bondage is absolute and pressing on all sides alike; society is scarcely conscious of its existence.'

Pretty well this in the way of approval from a citizen of the 'free and enlightened republic.' He finds espionage effects 'what the confessional only aims at'—it performs 'the functions of the press'—'it exercises a wholesome restraint upon delegated powers—sits lightly upon intelligent and upright officers!' But for such results, the writer seems to forget it is essential that this secret and irresponsible power should be righteously exercised. This is an inseparable condition of any *wholesome restraint* or of espionage *sitting lightly*,—and a condition that has not hitherto been realised in the history of the world in connection with such functions.

On the contrary, the world's experience seems to have established as a universal truth the fact, however unsuspected by the learned doctor, that personal liberty, security, and independence, *cannot exist side by side with a system of secret police.* Stranger still, he seems to have no suspicion that of the many evils which can befall a nation, perhaps the worst is a system of government which sows distrust between man and man, deprives the subject of a manly sense of self-respect, and builds up its own security on the rotten foundation of a degrading and demoralising betrayal of the secrets of every family hearth. If ignorance of the misdeeds of subordinates or men in office be the source of one kind of evil, a Republican might have guessed that the knowledge which is derived

from the venal informer, is in itself a more frightful malady than any amount of ignorance in a government; seeing that spies habitually invent more than they ever discover.

But we will return to our Swedish doctor. When speaking of the agriculture of the Japanese, he draws a vivid picture of the happy state of Japan compared with his own country:—

'Agriculture is in the highest esteem with the Japanese, insomuch that (the most barren and untractable mountains excepted) one sees here the surface of the earth cultivated all over the country, and most of the mountains and hills up to their very tops. Neither rewards nor encouragements are necessary in a country where the tillers of the ground are considered as the most useful class of citizens (he cannot be alluding to the vexed question of agricultural prizes in our day), and where they do not groan under various oppressions, which in other countries have hindered, and ever must hinder, the progress of agriculture. The duties paid by the farmer of his corn in kind are indeed very heavy, but in other respects he cultivates his land with greater freedom than the lord of a manor in Sweden. He is not hindered two days together at a time, in consequence of furnishing relays of horses, by which he perhaps earns a groat and often returns with the loss of his horses; he is not dragged from his field and plough to transport a prisoner or a deserter to the next castle; nor are his time and property wasted in making roads, building bridges, almshouses, parsonage-houses, and magazines. He knows nothing of the impediments and inconveniences which attend the maintenance and equipments of horses and foot soldiers. And what contributes still more to his happiness, and leaves sufficient scope for his industry in cultivating his land, is this — that he has only one master, viz. his feudal lord, without being under the command of a host of masters, as with us. No parcelling out of the land forbids him to improve to the least advantage the portion he possesses, and no right of commonage, belonging to

many, prevents each from deriving profit from his share. All are bound to cultivate their land, and if a husbandman cannot annually cultivate a certain portion of his fields he forfeits them, and another who can is at liberty to cultivate them. Meadows are not to be met with in the whole country; on the contrary, every spot of ground is made use of either for corn-fields or else for plantations of esculent-rooted vegetables: so that the land is neither wasted upon extensive meadows for the support of cattle and saddle horses, nor upon large and unprofitable plantations of tobacco (they grow tobacco, nevertheless); nor is it sown with seed for any other still less necessary purpose; which is the reason that the whole country is very thickly inhabited and populous, and can without difficulty give maintenance to all its innumerable inhabitants.'

It is obvious that our Swedish observer had one eye on his native land and its abuses, and another on the country he thus so highly extols;—and that he was moreover an out-and-out utilitarian, in the sense of those who regard the meat and drink of the body, as the great or sole end for which the many labour on this earth. He goes on to describe the minute and elaborate care bestowed on the manuring of the soil, to make it so productive of corn and esculent-rooted vegetables, to the exclusion of the green meadow and the pleasant copse; and the process so carefully described confirms the impression conveyed by what goes before, that Japan would be a very good country to be fed in;—but those who live in it, ought not to have noses as well as mouths,—or be in any way endowed with olfactory nerves.

The cultivator, in giving himself 'the disgusting trouble of mixing up manure of man and beast till it becomes a perfect hodge-podge,' must be upon the whole a cause of considerable disgust to everybody else, if not to himself. And the process described — pouring the contents of the manure pails by a ladle upon the plant when it is about six inches high, by which 'it receives the whole benefit of it, at the same time that the liquor

penetrates immediately to the root,'—may be very advantageous to the growth of said six-inch high plant, but hardly accords with any delicacy of taste. Some people might object to asparagus or lettuce thus brought to perfection, and find their pleasure of eating it sadly interfered with, by a certain association of ideas, foolish enough no doubt, but very difficult to be got rid of. In other respects, to those who do not care to eat vegetables at all, but have some pleasure in green fields and fresh air, there is a serious drawback. He somewhere else alludes to the numerous receptacles made for preserving the odious compounds until wanted 'on the highways at frequent intervals,' which, he admits, renders the roads themselves impassable to people afflicted with the sense of smell; — and must make it a work of considerable difficulty to get a fresh walk from one end of the land to the other, unless it be on the edge of the craters. After I had resided some time in Japan, I found both the disagreeables and advantages required to be restated, with certain modifications. Except in spring, during the months of March and April, there is little in the manuring to complain of. How this is managed I cannot tell, for all exercise in the country in China, throughout the year, had this terrible drawback attached to it. On the other hand, either from the too great supply of manure to the soil, or other causes, — perhaps perpetuating the same seeds and plants without change — all their vegetables are either rank or tasteless; and their fruit is no better. As it is never allowed to ripen, however, it is difficult to say what it might be under more natural conditions! Still my latest conclusion justifies my early impression that, as Chloe in the 'Minister's Wooing' declares in a higher matter, there is a 'mistake somewhere,'— and the result is that in one of the most beautiful and fertile countries in the whole world, the flowers have no scent, the birds no song, and the fruit and vegetables no flavour! One of my colleagues gave the characteristics of the country in another triology, which I am bound to say was not inferior in accuracy, if less poetical. 'Women

wearing no crinoline, Houses harbouring no bugs, and the country no lawyers.' The last is perhaps the most astonishing of the whole.

Thunberg complains that the fields are so completely cleared, that the most sharp-sighted botanist would scarcely be able to discover a single plant of any other species among the corn! Yet he contends they are a poetical people. 'Poetry,' he says, 'is a favourite study with this nation.' The way in which they cultivate their cabbages would not have led one to this conclusion, perhaps. But they are not quite as bad as they are painted; for weeds flourish at Nagasaki as elsewhere, and wild flowers too!

This was about the sum of the information extracted from my authorities, ancient or modern, in respect to the country and its institutions I was so soon to examine for myself. I have thought it might not be useless, or prove uninteresting to general readers to have, at a single glance, a resumé of our previous knowledge of the Japanese. More especially did this seem desirable, as from these same sources Europe derived the Utopian views of Japan long prevalent,—and destined to be somewhat rudely destroyed upon closer acquaintance.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS — NAGASAKI.

FIRST impressions of a country so little known cannot always be correct, yet, if faithfully given, they may still be worth recording. Our first impressions of those we meet in society may not do justice to all their latent good qualities; we may very much exaggerate that which is unprepossessing in appearance;—conceive unreasonable dislike to what is contrary to our own habits and associations, and for no better reason than such contradiction;—and upon the whole do them great injustice. Nevertheless, there is an instinctive trust in the accuracy and truthfulness of these. Estimates of character, made upon farther acquaintance, often prove less trustworthy —and this, I think, may be very satisfactorily accounted for. Familiarity blunts our power of perception as to what is really distinctive; and personal interest, as well as partial knowledge, alike tend to mislead or pervert the judgement. That which is most characteristic catches the eye best at first sight—whether the natural features of a landscape, the carriage and bearing of an individual, or national life and customs be the subject of observation.

I was not deterred, therefore, on arriving at Nagasaki, from reading as I ran, and noting my impressions too,—by the fear that I might fall into some involuntary error as to the right interpretation of all that I saw. What we gain in accuracy by a more cautious method, we are likely to miss in freshness and graphic power; even if we do not lose all interest in the subject, when it has grown hackneyed by long familiarity. I give, therefore, from a

few notes made on the spot, some of my first impressions, together with the corrections suggested by later information.

The 4th of June, of pleasant memory to Etonians, opened the port of Nagasaki to our rain-drenched party. It has often been described by recent travellers, and even under a cloudy sky the entrance was not devoid of beauty. Island after island comes into view as the bay is entered, many very picturesque in form. As the ship

NAGASAKI HARBOUR

moves farther up the bay, the town of Nagasaki is seen lying at the farther end, clustering at the foot of a range of hills, and creeping no inconsiderable distance up the wooded sides. *Decima* to the right fixes the eye — a low, fan-shaped strip of land, dammed out from the waters of the bay, the handle being towards the shore, and truncated. One long wide street, with two-storied houses on each side, built in European style, gives an air of great tidiness; but they looked with large hollow

eyes into each other's interiors, in a dismal sort of way, as if they had been so engaged for six generations at least,—and were quite weary of the view. A conscious sense of the inevitable monotony of a life passed within its boundaries leaves one little disposed to admire even the trimness and cleanliness of all around. But the view from the Dutch Commissioner's residence, with its quaint Japanese garden, and fine sweep down the bay towards the entrance, is very charming. As I stood for a few minutes alone on the balcony, there flitted before me a vision of the sort of life these indomitable representatives of the Great Batavian Republic must have led. I saw the solitary chiefs of the factory, the Heeren Waardenaar, Doeff, Titsingh, &c., in long succession, taking up their prison station in rotation, and looking forth upon the fair bay, with which their sight alone might be gladdened. How often must the occupants of this lone post have strained their eyes to the entrance, hoping and looking in vain for the solitary ship, bringing tidings from Europe and home, at far-off intervals? Of a truth it must have been a trying life to the most phlegmatic Dutchman that ever drew smoke and consolation from a meerschaum. And they held to this foot of earth with desperate tenacity, nothing daunted by a prison life; — and such a series of vexations and indignities as only an Oriental race like the Chinese or Japanese could have the ingenuity to devise,—or the patience to put into execution for two centuries, without cessation or intermission. When politicians of a certain school would advocate unlimited submission and conciliation in our dealings with Eastern nations, and the Chinese and Japanese especially,—one could wish they would take the trouble to read, in the history of Dutch relations, what such policy carried out unswervingly to the utmost led to, in Japan. When a general expectation of efforts to open Japan to Western commerce emboldened the Dutch Government, by slow degrees, gently to insinuate a possibility of some relaxation of a system of exclusion and isolation,—as the sole means

of averting danger and destruction to the Japanese themselves, and the whole fabric of their policy and independence, — the monopoly won by the exclusion of all other nations, two centuries before, had long ceased to be of any value to Holland, even had the conditions of such dwarfed and oppressed trade been less humiliating. To this end all trade with these countries naturally gravitates, if the Rulers are allowed to follow their own inspirations and policy, without check or hindrance. This is the legitimate issue of a peace-at-any-price policy, as all who advocate such a system in the East may satisfy themselves, if they will take the trouble to study either the past or the present. It has been common enough to twit the Dutch with a grovelling cupidity, in submitting to such conditions as were for so many generations relentlessly imposed upon them by the Japanese. But we, and all the nations of the West, who have any commercial interests in the East, are greatly indebted to them for the demonstration their experience has afforded us, of the futility of such unresisting submission to wrong and injury,—caprice and oppression, from an Eastern government.

And to say the truth we have nothing to boast of in this field; and are little entitled to make merry at the expense of our neighbours. What the Dutch submitted to for centuries in Japan, we also and other nations with us, but we more than all the rest, on account of our larger stake, put up with from the Chinese at Canton. Sometimes, it is true, we were driven beyond our powers of endurance, and before the first conflict ending in war — which it is the peculiar delight of our cousins on the other side of the Atlantic to call the 'opium war'— we had upon more than one occasion shown something of the old spirit of resistance to oppression; but never, I fancy, without the rebuke of the high powers at the India House, who looked to the season's tea, and held anything that perilled it an unpardonable offence in their servants. Nor were the Governments of the day one whit more disposed to run any avoidable risks, by the assertion of our

national dignity. It is a late discovery, that between a determined assertion of treaty rights,—with all its sad contingencies of resistance, collision and eventual war,—and the most abject submission to continually increasing wrong and injury, there is rarely any middle term to be found in the East,—compatible either with the maintenance of those rights or the extension of commerce.

The first aspect of the bay itself strongly recalls to the European traveller some of the more picturesque fiords of Norway, especially the approach to Christiania, the capital. The hills rise boldly from the water's edge, and the pine grows plentifully here as there. But the Swiss lakes also produce scenes much more resembling this, than one could have anticipated. On landing only, something more tropical appears in the trees and shrubs. The pomegranate and persimmin, the palm and the bamboo are there. But the gardinia and camellia flourish also; and everywhere our common ferns may be seen, and ivy covering the walls; while by the roadside, the thistle is not wanting, to confound all geographical divisions into floral zones. The rare and much-prized stiphelia of botanists I observed, growing luxuriantly in many places as a creeper.

A beautiful bay it is, and perfectly land-locked. While blowing a gale of wind outside, there is scarcely any swell here, or only enough to make the water look crisp and fresh, while the brown fishing-hawk swoops down upon his finny prey;—or, poised above, fills the air with his wild cry. They seem to occupy the place of sea-gulls in this latitude, and are perched about on the rigging of the several ships, especially those with which they have had the longest acquaintance;—for they make a distinction, and are very shy of a new arrival.

The first landing in a new country is generally a moment of great interest, even to the oldest traveller. There must be something essentially pleasant in new sensations, novelty in almost every form;—since not only we give ourselves much trouble to obtain it, but generally find some pleasure when it is secured. No travelling in

Europe can rob Japan of its peculiar claims to admiration under this head,—for nothing in the West at all resembles a thousand things that meet the eye;—and even familiarity with the scenery and people of other parts of the East, still leaves room for a variety of new impressions. It must often have been remarked how little books, or drawings either, can effect, to enable anyone completely to realise a new country and people. Once among them, you discover immediately that your ideal is something very different from the actual living embodiment. This is essentially true of people, towns, streets,—and the effect of costumes differing from those to which the eye is accustomed. Certainly as regards the first view of Japan, there are specialities in the Japanese figure, physiognomy, and costume, for which long familiarity with the adjoining population of China does nothing to prepare you. It is not so much that the race of boatmen, and the working-classes generally, are content with the narrowest possible girdle and connecting band, for that is common enough, from Alexandria to China; though in respect to the men of the latter country, I must say there is generally a more liberal allowance of coloured calico for a covering, under the hottest sun and hardest work, than seemed to be the usage at Nagasaki. But it is as regards the women, that all our notions are most confounded. One must be brought up from infancy to the manner, to be able to look upon their large mouths full of black teeth, and the lips thickly daubed with a brick-red colour,—and not turn away with a strong feeling of repulsion.

The general aspect of Nagasaki, in the upper part of the town, was that of a half-deserted city, partly from the width of the streets, and partly by contrast, I suspect, with the swarming populations of Chinese cities. The shops seemed but poorly supplied; porcelain, and lacquer-ware, and silk goods there were,—not absolutely to be despised perhaps, if Yeddo had not been in prospect, but presenting no great attractions.

One or two of the more salient features of Nagasaki

street life must strike the least observant. I say 'street life,'—but as all the shops have open fronts and give a view right through the interior to the inevitable little garden at the back; and the inmates of the house sit, work, and play, in full view whatever may be the occupation in hand—the morning meal, the afternoon siesta, or the later ablutions,—the household work of the women, the play of their nude progeny, or the trade and handicraft of the men,—each house is converted into a microcosm where the Japanese may be studied in all their aspects. We hear a great deal of the marvellous perfection to which a government system of rule by espionage has been brought in this country; but really it would seem as if the last, and not the least strange result arrived at, has been the abrogation of all secresy or desire for privacy on the part of a whole population! It says much too for the climate, which has often more to do with the habits and tastes of a people than more recondite causes. It has been asserted by Buckle, and others before him, that the character of a people's civilisation is actually determined by the climate; and there is much in Japan to bear out the truth of the axiom.

Throughout the south of Europe and in the East, in our time,—as in the days of ancient Greece and Rome,—houses are merely places to sleep and to eat in, to lock up their goods when trade is the vocation,—and sometimes their women. In northern lands, blessed only with a small share of sun and fine weather,—and a disproportionate allowance of fog and mist, of cold and damp,—many of the chief pleasures of life must be sought within the walls of a well-built and roomy house, capable of being thoroughly warmed and made cheerful by fire and artificial light. Hence the domesticity of Northern Europe, with its chief home in Great Britain,—hence many of our virtues, and some of our vices! Among the former the art of making ourselves comfortable, so often quoted by the French, and so rarely attained, may fairly take rank. Hence, too, in part at least, the luxury and

extravagance displayed in many of our dwellings and habits of life.

It is impossible to wander through any of these eastern lands, without being further struck by the influence of climate, in national dress or clothing, and the requirements of modesty or decency. Certainly if the laws of morality are immutable and written in the hearts and consciences of all men alike, as is commonly maintained,—it is difficult to arrive at the same conclusion as regards any universality or identity of the innate sense, which dictates the rules of propriety in dress. We read that in the fifteenth century, when the sect of Flagellants perambulated Europe, plying the whip upon their naked backs, and declaring that the whole of religion consisted in the use of the scourge, 'others, more crazy still, pronounced the use of clothes to be evidence of an unconverted nature, and returned to the nakedness of our first parents as proof of their restoration to a state of innocence.' Now whether the working part of this population are in the state of primeval purity and innocence, or the very reverse,—one thing is certain, that they are in a state very nearly approaching that of our first parents, and may daily be seen, 'naked and not ashamed.' But if it shall turn out, as has been asserted by those who have lived longest among them, that their women are not less chaste, nor their men more immoral than many of the best dressed populations of Europe;—it will be hard to avoid the conclusion, that in this said article of clothing—there is a great deal more that is purely conventional than is generally imagined.

When I first landed it was a holiday-time,—many of the people were out, evidently dressed in their best, and exchanging grave and courteous salutations as they met, bending, with their hands sliding down to their knees, and uttering their greetings with a deep-drawn inspiration, the depth from whence it was extracted appearing to be in strict relation to the degree of respect they wished to manifest,—as though the joy and satisfaction of

such a meeting were something too deep for utterance! Banners and flags of fantastic device, and often graceful forms, were being carried about in procession, while others were hung on poles before many of the doors, with little mannikins, dressed in gaudy colours, swinging to and fro beneath. It was a great fête or '*Matsuri*,' held once a year for three days, to commemorate the births of sons and daughters; and the little stuffed figures represent the accessions to the family during the year; two for a son and one for a daughter. Street-musicians were about—not the respectable hurdy-gurdy of European cities, but a sort of lute and fife, played by an itine-

A JAPANESE SALUTATION

rant race. Some are said to be outcasts and '*Lonins*,' who sometimes thus play the mendicant instead of the highway robber, with a hat completely concealing their face. Inside a half-closed shop might be seen a dozen musicians, squatted on their knees and heels (a heart-breaking and impossible posture to the uninitiated). I say musicians,—but they make a most unearthly noise, a perfect charivari of drum and fife and stringed instruments, each performer apparently seeking with the greatest conscientiousness to drown the noise of his neighbour; and succeeding to perfection.

I have made some remarks on the nude Japanese—

it is only right to observe that all the more well-to-do classes go about full dressed, and with great attention both to taste and neatness of costume. I speak of the better class of *men* only, for women of this rank do not present themselves out of doors, it would seem. Take them all in all, with their resemblances and differences, you soon come to the conclusion that, judging even from this seaport or Wapping of Japan,—with a

LONIN READING

Chinese colony located among them for some centuries to teach them their vices,—Dutch and other foreigners in time past and present, to add their quota also,—they are a good-humoured, intelligent, and courteous race; gentle withal,—and speaking one of the softest tongues out of Italy. Their salutations and greetings in the market-place, have a stately and elaborate courtesy in

the lowly bend of the body, and make a very striking contrast to the jerk of the head and 'How do?' of Jones, Brown, and Robinson.

A fair amount of industry and business appeared in the shops, and along the wide streets, down the centre of which there is, in most cases, a fine flag pavement. Groups of half, or wholly naked children, clamouring for buttons, you meet everywhere; and almost every woman has at least one at the breast, and often another at the back. The race is undoubtedly prolific;—and this, I should say, is a very paradise of babies.

One of the most interesting facts connected with the port, and the relations opened by the series of treaties, from Commodore Perry's, in March 1854, to Lord Elgin's, in August 1858, is the Japanese steam factory on the opposite side of the bay, under the superintendence of Dutch officers. I went over it, and could not but admire the progress made, under every possible difficulty, by the Japanese and Dutch combined, in their endeavours to create, in this remote corner of the earth, all the complicated means and appliances for the repair, and manufacture ultimately, of steam machinery.

All honour is due to the Dutch officers — Captain Kattandyck, of the Dutch Navy,* as the head of the commission; and the Chief Engineer,—worthy descendants of those brave Hollanders whom no danger could daunt, nor difficulties arrest, in their efforts to conquer a territory from the sea on the one side, and the Spaniard on the other.

In going over the various workshops, where everything had to be created from the beginning,— bricks and tiles to be made, and kilns even to burn them, for the necessary buildings — docks to plan and dig — Japanese workmen to instruct; with all the endless difficulties caused by imperfect means of communication;— and not be struck with the singular com-

* The present Minister of Marine at the Hague.

bination of energy and persevering effort, guided by competent practical knowledge, which the Dutch must have supplied.

The head engineer, whose name I am sorry I cannot recall, was one of those plain unpretending men who, like the Brunels and Stephensons of our own country, find means of overcoming every difficulty. Not the least, perhaps, in this case, was the reluctance of the Japanese to sink large sums, month after month, in an undertaking the full value of which they could hardly appreciate, until they saw some tangible results. Of course there was much which yet remained to be done; but even then, in little more than a year, a large lathe factory was in full work, where Japanese workmen, some the sons of gentlemen, turned out all the parts of a steam-engine proper to their department. Among other things, I found them turning moderator lamps! Beyond was a forge factory, in complete working order, with a Nasmyth's hammer, and all the requisites for repairing damages. And here we saw one of the most extraordinary and crowning testimonies of Japanese enterprise and ingenuity, which leaves all the Chinese have ever attempted far behind. I allude to a steam-engine with tubular boilers, made by themselves before a steam vessel or engine had ever been seen by Japanese; made solely, therefore, from the plans in a Dutch work. This engine was not only put together, but made to work a boat. It is true there were defects, both in structure and adaptation; and it is rather a marvel, perhaps, that the engineers were not 'hoisted with their own petard;' but even these defects admit of rectification, under the able hands of the head engineer, were it not worthy of being preserved as a national monument of Japanese capacity and enterprise. An American writer seems unwilling to leave them the credit so justly their due, and suggests that the workmen must have seen the United States 'Mississippi' steamer! But

he is clearly mistaken. It was actually in operation, long before an American or any other steamer had ever appeared in Japanese waters.

I left this most interesting establishment, and its worthy head, who spoke English very unexceptionably, and gave every kind of information with great readiness, — fully realising the labour and the difficulties he and his fellow workmen must have had to encounter at every step, in thus laying the foundations of a steam navy in these remote regions, and among a people to whom all the appliances of modern science were unknown. We extended our walk to the Russian settlement, in a beautifully situated cove, with wooded hills rising boldly behind it. Coal-sheds and stores spread along the base; while temporary barracks and head-quarters were on a commanding platform, halfway up the banks. If the Russians, as some have surmised, intended a permanent settlement, it could not have been better chosen; but I saw nothing to indicate more than what it professed to be — a temporary location for the crew of the frigate 'Aschol,' requiring a thorough repair and refit; for which this retired and snug bay was admirably adapted. They had been here some months, and this had evidently been made the rendezvous for a Commodore's squadron, consisting of the frigate and half a dozen corvettes and gunboats — supposed to be on their way to the Amoor. I dare say, being here in force, the Russian had had it pretty much his own way — and obtained what supplies he wanted,—with fair words or the strong hand, as the case might require. But, under similar circumstances, the same thing would probably have been done by the senior officer of any other foreign squadron.

Talking of supplies, there seemed a terrible dearth of chickens, though plenty of eggs. There were no sheep to be bought, for there are none in the country; and bullocks were denied, and declared not to exist in the island, — until a razzia of the Russians swept in two or

three score from the surrounding country ; — after which they were always abundantly supplied. The only specimens *we* could procure, however, made wretched beef, and were only fit for leather, though cheap enough, — if anything can properly be called cheap which is bad, and unfit for use. No cattle being kept for slaughter by a nation of Buddhists and Ichthyologists or Vegetarians, only those can be obtained which are taken from the plough ; and, of course, old and worn-out beasts are alone brought to market. The scarcity of fowls is less easily understood, seeing that for more than six months there must have been a remunerating demand, and the means of producing them are there. Bantams, beautiful enough to win prizes, are plentiful in the streets — and a few long-legged, high-stepping fowls, fit almost for a cabriolet, might also be seen ; but they had a patriarchal look, and, moreover, could not be bought. In fact it seemed that the first settlers would find no small difficulty in supplying their table with anything but fish and vegetables — unless, in winter, game might fill up the deficiencies. Fish alone is plentiful at Nagasaki, and in considerable variety. We found crawfish and prawns of noble proportions. Some of the fish are good, and others smooth-skinned and coarse ; but they are in great variety, from the pomfret to the shark, which latter is not despised by the natives. Its fins, indeed, are a delicacy among the Chinese ; and its skin furnishes a covering to the Japanese sword scabbards.

After a glance at the fish-market, and vegetable stalls, the latter chiefly filled with the coarser kinds of roots and French beans, I wandered over one of the beautiful sloping hills extending along the bay towards the mouth of the harbour. It offered more than one delightful site for a foreign settlement, with abundant water frontage, and bounded by a ravine, down which a mountain stream came tumbling in foam and ripple, to empty itself into the bay. With such a site, invalids from India and China might find a Sanatarium such as no other land

between the two—or east of the Cape can afford. The end of June was approaching, and still no summer-heat was experienced, the thermometer ranging only from 62° to 78°.

The rain at this season, indeed, obscures the sun and tempers the atmosphere; but whoever has panted through six months of summer-heat on the banks of the Hooghly, or the burning plains of Madras, or sighed in vain for one breath of air in the sun-stricken side of Hongkong, and the low sedgy flats of the Canton river, will gladly compound for a temperature of 70° in June, and a fresh breeze from the south,—by six weeks of heavy rain. In the South there is little actual winter, it appears. A new country full of natural beauties, no tropical heat, and within ten days' steam of Hongkong, promised an abundant influx of visitors, seeking for change and health—a promise which was more fully realised in the sequel than many other anticipated results.

Before taking my departure for Yeddo, I had occasion to see the Governor of Nagasaki, whom I found full of courtesy, and a man of prepossessing address and manners. Their modes of reception, though very simple, are not wanting in dignity. If the person to be received is of sufficient rank to entitle him to be greeted as an equal, the Governor will meet the guest at the end of the first corridor leading to the reception-room, and after an exchange of salutations, show him the way. When foreigners are to be received, seats and tables are arranged on each side of the room opposite. The Japanese take theirs according to their respective rank on one side, and the foreigners are requested to sit down opposite, benches or chairs being provided for the occasion. As the interview proceeds, lacquer trays are brought, on which are fire, tobacco, pipes, and small copper spittoons; and if it be a very formal or long affair, these are succeeded by a succession of trays containing, first, cake and sweets, then fish, vegetables, sea-weed, rice, &c., and tea—the last of doubtful flavour. Cups of saki, a spirit distilled from

rice, are handed round, and some people think it very palatable or potable. It is quite as good (or bad) as the Chinese samshu or wine, however, and very much the same kind of thing.

Grapes they have, but from these they make spirit, not wine. When the visit is concluded the two parties rise, notice having been given by the guest of his wish to retire. Salutations are returned, and he is conducted by his host a longer or shorter distance, according to their relative rank. All this is well and courteously done; — but the tedium, and often the uselessness of these official interviews of several hours, when important business presses for decision, is something beyond description. For everything a double translation is required, first into Dutch, from whatever foreign language is spoken, then into Japanese, and so back again; with the pleasant condition of utter uncertainty whether any of the true sense or spirit of the first words spoken passes through the Japanese and last filter, or is left in the unspoken *residuum*. Time alone can supply a remedy for this, by enabling foreigners to be their own interpreters, and speak Japanese. The native interpreters all understand and speak more or less of English, but too little yet to be available for any practical purpose. It is encouraging, however, to see the spontaneous effort that has been made in this direction; and many years cannot elapse before Dutch is entirely superseded, and English takes its place.*

* Great progress has in effect been made during the past three years, everywhere *except at Yeddo!* At the three ports, many very efficient interpreters in English are constantly employed by the Japanese authorities. At Yeddo, I offered to have a class of youths taught English, if the Government would select educated boys, and send them to us. They appeared to receive the proposition with great pleasure, and promised immediately after my arrival to make a selection — but it was yet to be done when I left, at the end of nearly three years.

CHAPTER IV.

NAGASAKI TO YEDDO — THE WORK OF TWO CENTURIES UNDONE IN AS MANY YEARS — EFFECT UPON THE JAPANESE MIND — HOW ITS RULERS FELT UNDER SUCH INNOVATIONS — THE TOUCHSTONE OF TRIAL — FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC AGENTS AT YEDDO TO TAKE UP A PERMANENT RESIDENCE.

NAGASAKI to Yeddo! Two centuries lie between these points, so near on the map, but so far and completely separated by the determined policy of the Japanese rulers — a policy of isolation, so effectually carried out, that no foreigner, though he might under the Dutch flag gain access to Nagasaki, could force or find his way to the capital.

A mission of tribute-bearers alone was permitted to proceed to Yeddo, under the most vigilant and inexorable of escorts — paid by themselves, too, thus adding insult to injury. When there, they were closely guarded, and allowed to offer on their knees or faces, in the august presence of the Siogun (Tycoon) — or, rather, with prostrations before a screen, behind which he was supposed to be seated in solemn state — the offerings of the Dutch factory, in humble token of gratitude — for the pleasant life and profitable conditions of trade enjoyed at Decima! If these presents, in value and number, were satisfactory, then the suite were further graciously permitted to play all sorts of antics and tom-fooleries, for the especial amusement of the court, and the ladies behind the lattices. Thunberg relates how they were desired to turn round, that they might show the cut of their clothes behind and before; dance European dances, sing foreign songs, feign drunkenness,

&c., for several hours, until completely exhausted, when they were allowed to retire; — but not to rest; for the Tycoon's entertainment over, princes and courtiers pressed upon them for farther amusement. It does not appear that the chief of the factory was subjected to this truly humiliating ordeal; but all the rest of his mission were made to contribute their share.

Such were the receptions granted during the last two centuries; but 'Nagasaki to Yeddo' carries the imagination back yet another century, when the stout English pilot, William Adams, first steered to the coast,— a storm-tossed and battered vessel of small tonnage, under Dutch colours — the only one of a fleet of five that ever reached a Japanese port. After a series of disasters, he arrived, with only five companions who could walk, and was sent with his party to the capital. How he made his way at Court, though no courtier born, and survived the kindly suggestion of a Portuguese Jesuit, that he should be hanged as a 'pestilent fellow and a pirate,' is generally known. Three centuries have rolled on since then, and now Foreign Representatives are on their way to exchange the ratifications of new treaties; and they will arrive at the capital, not as honest Will Adams approached the coast, in a little merchant lugger, unaccredited and helpless, — but in due state, each with a goodly ship-of-war for escort, bearing the national flag. Not as the Representatives of any foreign nation during the two centuries past, bearers of presents and triennial tribute — the price paid for leave to trade at Nagasaki, and there alone, under the most oppressive and humiliating conditions; — but empty-handed, save as the bearers of treaties which abrogate all conditions not consistent with the dignity of a great nation, and the free developement of a mutually advantageous trade. So great is the contrast, that two centuries seem hardly too much for the change to be effected in. And yet it had all been the work of five years; — of five years of continuous treaties, it may be said, but all

crowded into that short space. The expedition of the United States, under Commodore Perry, in March 1854, first began by inserting the wedge, destined by successive efforts of Foreign Powers to cleave through the opposing body of Japanese tradition and policy. Admiral Stirling followed later in the year, and content, like his predecessor, with continued refusal to trade, he merely stipulated for wood and provisions, with humanity to shipwrecked mariners.

The Dutch, naturally anxious to play a part as a Power instrumental in opening the country they had once striven so hard to close to all but themselves, got rid of some of the most galling and humbling of the conditions of their own position, by a convention concluded by Mr. Donker Curtius, the Commissioner, and head of the Dutch factory.

Then came the Russians, taught the value of Japanese ports by their war with England and France; and in October 1857, Admiral Pontiatine formed a treaty. In a few days later, the Dutch again returned to the charge, by which trading privileges were secured at three ports —Nagasaki, Simoda, and Hakodadi. Next followed in rapid succession American, English, and French treaties, in the months of July and August of 1858: and the wedge was finally driven home, enlarging and improving the conditions and privileges of trade. By these last the gates of Yeddo were forced, — made to turn upon their rusty hinges, and give reluctant passage, for the first time, to Foreign ministers as residents.

Credit may have been justly due to the Japanese Rulers — to some, at least — for having had the sense to perceive the time had come, when their exclusive policy could no longer be safely maintained; and the prudence not to provoke a collision with the Great Powers of Europe, which could only have ended in the humiliation and discomfiture of the nation. The Chinese had appeared more blinded with conceit, and less capable of appreciating the futility of resistance, and the hopeless-

ness of an appeal to arms. There was a general disposition to draw a good augury from this, for our future relations with the Japanese empire. If they received the Diplomatic agent of Great Britain without vain protestations of inexpediency, when he should present himself, without previous communication or announcement, at Yeddo; — then time and patience it might naturally be expected would alone be required, to secure settled relations of amity and commerce.

But, as this narrative proceeds, it will be seen there were many more things in Japan to be taken note of, than had entered into the philosophy of the world in general, on this subject. It is often well indeed that we know so little of what lies before us in this troubled world, whether of good or evil! Knowledge of the first might render us presumptuous; and, of the second, take away the heart and courage necessary to make a good fight. The Japanese ruling classes, we found later, had only yielded to suggestions of danger, chiefly emanating from what proved the weaker or more timid party in the State, and were as hostile to foreigners as ever. They fell into the natural mistake, it is to be believed — judging by the light of after events — that Foreign Powers, one and all, were prepared to go to war with them, if they refused to enter into all the treaties proposed. In their conscious state of unpreparedness for resistance, they probably thought it better to temporise and yield — with a mental reservation, intending to retrace their steps, when time and opportunity should serve: — and, satisfied that it remained in their own hands, in the meanwhile, to suspend or impede the execution of all the more important stipulations.

When has it ever been otherwise, in the treaties of the Western with the Eastern races? Yielding under moral pressure (a kind of euphuistic phrase for *coercion*, and a coercion which has a great deal more to do with rifled guns and frigates than anything moral or intellectual), they ever reserve the right of the con-

quered, to resist — and of the weak to feign acquiescence, until they shall feel strong enough to annul by force, what was wrung from them by no very different process. When they afterwards discovered, as there is no doubt they did, that they had yielded to a vain fear, in the first treaty entered into; — and that no Foreign Power, even later, would have gone to war to force upon them a *Treaty of Commerce* — least of all, the United States of America — the wrath and indignation of the more violent party in the State exploded, and has ever since been a source of peril. But this was not the revelation of the hour. It came later, and with much unwillingness was received.

On the 26th of June, H.M.S. 'Sampson' cast anchor where the 'Furious,' with Lord Elgin, had last been seen, immediately opposite the city. It was a critical moment. By treaty, Great Britain was no doubt entitled to send a diplomatic agent to reside in Yeddo; — but the Japanese Government had very strongly urged upon Lord Elgin, to the last, their earnest desire that no Representative should actually be nominated until 1863, — on the plea that the popular feeling against foreigners was likely to be aroused, if so great a change were attempted before there was time to prepare the public mind.

Her Majesty's Government had not seen fit to accede to this request; and no previous notice had been sent that a British diplomatic agent was on his way. I had determined, therefore, that the wisest course under these circumstances was to steam right up to the anchorage outside the batteries; — and take it for granted that the Japanese Government was prepared to give effect to the treaty, in all its stipulations. But what if they met me with serious remonstrance, as to the danger a residence in Yeddo would entail upon the Japanese Government, and foreigners generally throughout the country, — and refuse to accept the responsibility or guarantee the safety of a Mission in the capital? All this had to be duly weighed — and risked.

Accordingly, on my arrival, a letter to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs was ready to be sent on shore, announcing my presence, and requesting a residence to be assigned, that I might disembark with as little delay as possible. It was not long before some officials came off to know our business, and they received the letter for answer. Nor had I long to wait for the reply. It came the next day, followed by a visit from two of the Governors of Foreign Affairs, bringing congratulations from the government on my safe arrival. This relieved me of some anxiety; — and I had the more reason to congratulate myself, because my American colleague, Mr. Harris, who followed me a few days later from Simoda, where he had hitherto resided, had not escaped pressing invitations from the government, to defer his departure for the capital.

Very glad to find the first anticipated difficulty no longer in my way, I proceeded immediately to the most pressing business — the selection of a temple for a provisional residence and Consulate General; and having mentioned the two placed at the disposal of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros respectively in 1858, plans not only of these, but of two others, were sent the following day, with an offer to conduct any member of the establishment to examine and select from the whole.

This seemed a matter of such moment, that I determined to land privately myself. Accordingly, on the third day after my arrival, accompanied by Captain Hand, we were pulling towards the shore, on a visit of inspection. Little of the capital, vast as it is, can be seen from the anchorage, which is outside a line of batteries built some two miles from the shore. Fringed with low houses and trees, some higher ground appears behind, apparently covered with wood. Only here and there a temple, or the white walls of a Daimio's park, can be distinguished.

The 'Sampson' lay full four miles from the shore, and even then, only in three fathoms of water. The bay

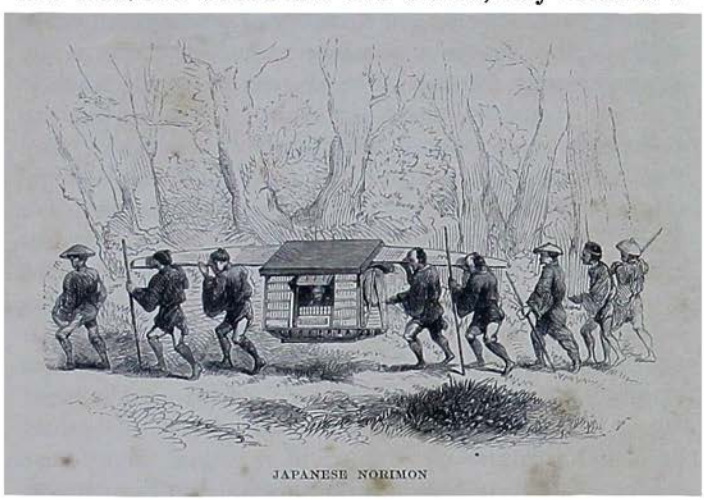
shoals all along the banks on which the city stands, so that, at low water, even a ship's boat cannot approach within a mile! Notwithstanding this best of natural defences, no less than five batteries, faced with guns on every side, interpose between the deeper channel and the city, besides several on shore. And the number and strength of these, I may observe, went on increasing continuously, from the arrival of the Foreign Representatives. There is thus nothing imposing in the aspect of Yeddo from the bay. This is partly due, as I have indicated, to the great amount of timber everywhere, which conceals the low houses, in many cases only single-storied; and partly to the formation of the ground, high land interposing and concealing by far the larger part of the city. The batteries midway between the anchorage and the shore are the most conspicuous objects, though only a few feet above high-water mark. They are solidly built of granite, and must have cost immense labour in laying the foundations. In their low-level line and general aspect they are not unlike some of those off Cronstadt. They are well kept, with green turf on the embankments; over which the muzzles of the guns may be seen, though the pieces themselves are carefully protected from the weather, and too curious prying, by wooden sheds or coverings. They seemed for the most part of light calibre, — twelve or eighteen pounders, apparently.

Two European rigged vessels bearing the Japanese flag—a red sun on a white field—were lying outside, and below the batteries. One of these was the Emperor's yacht, as it has been the fashion to call it—that is, the steam-vessel sent out by our government, at Admiral Stirling's suggestion, as a present to the Tycoon, which has been called the 'Emperor.' I had heard it asserted that it was allowed to go to decay, and was neglected. This is not the case, however, as I satisfied myself the next day by personal inspection. The painted woodwork looked shabby, because the Japanese abhor paint about their ships, and had consequently been steadily

engaged in scrubbing it off ever since the boat had come into their possession, and by dint of labour and perseverance had nearly succeeded. How they dispense with paint, and oil, and varnish, on all their boats and junks, and still preserve them in a seaworthy state, I have never been able to learn, though the fact is indisputable. They char the keels, and more than once, I believe; but beyond this, they seem to do nothing to guard the wood from decay, under a hot sun, and the alternate processes of soaking and drying. This, too, in the land of lacquer and varnish! They must apparently have found, by experience, that no adequate advantage was derived from the expenditure of either paint, drying-oil, or varnish; and yet this runs so entirely counter to our own experience, that it has always been a matter of speculation to me. I have often asked naval officers if they could explain the reason for this diversity of practice, but never obtained any satisfactory answer; on the contrary, the reply generally consisted of an affirmation of the absolute necessity of paint—indeed, like the receipts in Mrs. Glasse's cookery-book, in respect to butter, it was quite evidently their firm conviction that 'the more paint the better!' How far this settled bias in favour of *abundance of paint*, in the minds of my naval friends, may arise from the alleged fact of its scarcity, and the universal complaint of smart first lieutenants that they are stinted *and never have enough*, I do not venture to determine; but after a time I gave up farther inquiries in that quarter, plainly perceiving that all had one settled conviction in favour of paint—more paint—abundance of paint! So I left this irreconcileable difference of theory and practice, between the naval profession of Europe and Japan, just where I found it. One explanation, indeed, has been suggested which may not be far from the truth, namely, that wood and labour both being cheap, it is less expensive to build new boats, than to incur the expense of paint to make them more durable. But to return to the yacht. All the fine imitation satin-wood, and the gilt-work,

was found reduced to a very forlorn state, by this process of incessant scrubbing; but the engines, and all the brass-work, would have done no discredit to the best kept man-of-war in our service. I afterwards found, that they frequently got up her steam and proceeded with her to different points, when any high official had to be sent on the Tycoon's service, and the vessel was worked entirely by Japanese.

On landing, we found a great crowd of the inhabitants, eager to see the strangers; but the police mustered strong, and we were in no way incommoded, save by the awkward attempts we had to make, before we could succeed in doubling ourselves up so as to pack our limbs and bodies inside the Japanese palanquin, called a *norimon*, prior to our being suspended from the shoulders of four men, two before and two behind, very much as a



JAPANESE NORIMON

wild beast might be slung in a cage for safe transport. Here is a facsimile; for the benefit of all who have never seen the reality; or undergone the practical torture of cramped limbs, and a half-dislocated spine, within its narrow walls.

We are often told that no man is so miserable but he

may find some one in a worse state than himself—that, in every extremity of evil, there is still 'a lower deep.' Whatever satisfaction or comfort may be derivable from this source, I soon had the opportunity of trying; for numerous vehicles passed to and fro, carried from the shoulders also, but by *two* men, being evidently of much lighter construction, and only used by the lower classes.

JAPANESE CANGO

It is made of light wicker-work, and consists of a bottom, back, and front, in the shape of a truncated 'V,' or a U with the sides pulled out. Into the bottom the Japanese place a cotton quilt. Here, doubled up with their legs beneath them, looking as if they had been amputated at the knees, hundreds of men and women may be seen, in the streets or on the highway, travelling for hours, and on a whole day's journey, apparently without serious fatigue or discomfort. Nothing, indeed, has ever seemed to me more wonderful than the way in which Japanese men, women, and children take their ease and repose,—asleep or awake. A Japanese quite at his ease, and *sans gêne*, as naturally drops on his heels, and squats—with no more solid support to his person than his legs or heels can afford—as an Englishman drops into a chair when he is tired.

As soon as the babe leaves its mother's breast, the first

thing it learns is, not to walk or to run, but to squat on its heels in this baboon fashion. If the Japanese are on ceremony, then they sink on the mats, resting jointly on

HOW JAPANESE REST

heels and knees. And this attitude also, which would be torture to us, they maintain for hours, apparently without

JAPANESE PAGE IN ATTENDANCE

serious inconvenience. Finally, the day's labour over, or the time for siesta, in the heat of the day, arrived, they

throw themselves down full length on the mat, with a little padded rest, just large enough to receive the occiput, or the angle of the jaw, and sleep as soundly as the most fastidious with a feather pillow and bed.

HOW THE JAPANESE SLEEP

As we slowly wended our way through the streets, I had full opportunity of observing the absence of all the things *we* deem so essential to comfort, and which crowd our rooms almost to the exclusion, and certainly to the great inconvenience of the people who are intended to occupy them,—as well as to the great detriment of the proprietor's purse.

If European joints could only be made supple enough to enable their owners to dispense with sofas and chairs, and *par conséquence* with tables; and we were hardy enough to lie on clean mats, six feet by three, stuffed with fine straw, and beautifully made with a silk border, so as to form a sort of reticulated carpet for rooms of any size — the solution of that much-debated question, the possibility of marrying on 400*l.* a year, might certainly be predicted with something like unanimity, in favour of matrimony. The upholsterer's bill, never can offer any impediment to a young couple in Japan. Their future house is taken; containing generally three or four little rooms, in which clean mats are put. Each then brings to the housekeeping a cotton-stuffed quilt, and a box of wearing apparel for their own personal use;—a pan to cook the rice, half a dozen lacquer cups and trays to eat off,—a large tub to bathe and wash in are added,

on the general account;—and these complete the establishment!

I think this the nearest approach to Arcadian simplicity that has yet been made; and I recommend it to the serious consideration of all who are perplexed with the difficulties of setting up an establishment upon a small income,—and keeping it up afterwards; often the most arduous part of the undertaking.

But not even speculations of such interest and philanthropic scope could prevent limbs aching with the cramped position which my cage imposed. Nor did the jolting motion of the bearers tend to make it less irksome. But what, perhaps, was more objectionable still, the range of the eye was quite as cramped as the rest of the body; for, in order to see out of the windows, it was necessary to risk a dislocation of the cervical vertebræ, to get the head at a proper angle. So, at last, these combined evils becoming intolerable, I determined, with the rest of my party, to walk; since, as we were '*naibun*' (the exact rendering in Japanese, it seems, of our borrowed term *incognito*), there could be no compromise of dignity. And now, for the first time, we began to have some idea of what the streets were like, through which we were passing.

We landed on the banks of a canal which surrounds some pleasure-grounds, and a fishing summer-house of the Tycoon, where everything, seen from the outside, appeared fresh and green and park-like. And we were still in what was called the 'official quarter,' when our walk began.

The first temple visited was that which had been occupied by Baron Gros, situated immediately beneath the Tycoon's Cemetery, another finely-wooded park, containing within its wide area a town of temples and priests' quarters. But the actual space included in the ground occupied by the building now offered was very confined, and the building altogether too small to afford the required accommodation for so large a party as I brought with me on the public establishment. The temporary cook-

house and bath-rooms, run up with slight planking for Baron Gros, still existed, though in a piteously dilapidated state. Something, I thought, might possibly have been done in the way of enlargement and improvement, provided the adjoining grounds had been open for purposes of recreation and exercise. But not only was this held to be 'impossible,' but one of the conditions of tenure was rather objectionable—namely, that the Tycoon, on his way to the cemetery, passed through the house or inclosure, I forget which, and no fires could be lit on those days. I declined it at once, therefore; and as it was reported that Lord Elgin's former habitation, though more roomy and less confined, scarcely afforded the required space, we proceeded, on the earnest recommendation of one of the officials, to inspect a 'large and beautiful temple,' as he assured me, situated on the edge of the bay,—with all the requisite conditions of ample accommodation, spacious grounds, and easy communication with the water.

It was on this occasion I made my first acquaintance with Moriyama, and he deserves a special introduction. He was the chief of the Interpreters, and a much more important personage than his official title would indicate. He has been described, and sketched and photographed in all the accounts that have appeared of the several Missions to Japan; for on him has devolved the labour of translating into the Japanese version all the treaties, from Commodore Perry's, in 1854, to Count Eulenberg's, in 1860. On him it depends, in all the interviews with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, whether the conferences with the several foreign representatives are correctly or intelligibly rendered. Nearly all the correspondence with the foreign representatives passes through his hands also—a service, it appears, involving some danger as well as responsibility; for when the last American treaty, framed by Mr. Harris, was signed, a violent reactionary movement taking place among the leading Daimios, all the ministers were

disgraced, and Moriyama was made to share in the downfall of his employers.

Moriyama spoke a little English then, but he has since been to England with the Mission, and made great progress in the language during his passage home with me. The interpreters in Yeddo hitherto have only spoken in Dutch — the Dutch of two centuries back — and very embarrassing to those fresh from Europe, from the use of old and obsolete forms of expression, which,—with all the tenacity of a Japanese who understands nothing of the mutation of languages, or progressive theories of any kind,—they are ready to maintain is the only true and pure Dutch, all more modern phraseology being spurious, — like our descendants in New England, who have preserved so many obsolete phrases, that they pique themselves on maintaining, with greater success than the English themselves, the language of the old country 'pure and undefiled.' It was amusing, sometimes, to hear them sparring on this subject with the Legation Interpreter, a gentleman brought up in Holland — and to mark the astonishment of the latter, on being told by his Japanese colleague that he really did not know Dutch grammatically! This is only to be matched by my Canton Comprador, who came to me once in China, when I had a visitor in the house, fresh arrived from England—'Massa, no man sabie what that man want; he no talkee *proper* English!'

The route soon led out of the official quarter, and through a part of the city dedicated to commerce; but without stopping to describe all that was striking and novel in the general aspect, it will be better to go straightforward to the object of our perambulations—the temple of *Tozengee*, one of the largest and best endowed in Yeddo, under the patronage more especially of the Prince of Xendai, one of the great semi-independent Daimios, with vast territories, and a large number of subjects under his rule. During our walk I had been assured there was no finer site or grounds in Yeddo, and

that it had been specially destined for the British Representative. I cannot say I had much faith in my informant's perfect truthfulness, and therefore was agreeably surprised. On turning off the Tocado (as the great high road through the island is called, and which skirts the bay here), we passed through a gate giving entrance to a long avenue of cryptomerias and pines; then through a second more imposing gateway of two stories, across an open square with lotus ponds, and trees on each side, and finally, by an entrance to the right, through another courtyard, and gained a fine suite of apartments looking on to as beautiful a specimen of Japanese garden and grounds as can well be conceived. A lawn was immediately in front,—beyond a little lake, across which was a rustic bridge (destined later to play a prominent part in a scene of blood); and beyond this again, palm trees and azalias, large bushes trimly cropped into the semblance of round hillocks, while the background was filled up with a noble screen of timber composed of the finest of all Japanese trees, the evergreen oak and the maple. Palms and bamboos were interspersed, and a drooping plum tree was trained over one end of the rustic bridge giving passage across the lake. To the right, a steep bank shut in the view, covered equally with a great variety of flowering shrubs and the ground bamboo; and crowned with more of the same timber. Through this a path led upwards by a zigzag flight of steps to a fine avenue of trees, the end of which widened into a platform, whence a wide view of the bay and part of the city below could be obtained, with a perfectly scenic effect. The distant view was set in a framework of foliage, formed by the branches and trunks of pine trees, towering, from fifty to a hundred feet high, into the blue sky above. If Japan could only be viewed as a place of exile, it must be confessed a more beautiful hermitage could not have been chosen; and I felt almost doubtful whether a retreat so perfect in every respect, could possibly have fallen to my lot without some terrible drawback. It seemed too much to be so easily realised, and at so little cost. I well remember the feeling, now

that years have passed over my head, and revealed what I could then so little foresee, that in the midst of all this picturesque beauty — a scene at once so fair and peaceful —I, and at a year's interval, the Chargé d'Affaires in my absence,—were each destined to be hunted for our lives by armed bravoes thirsting for our blood; and feel that no human strength or art could make such a position *defensible*. Sunk as the house is in a hollow, surrounded by wood, and open on all sides to attack, effective defence

YEDDO FROM THE AVENUE

is indeed impossible, and the stealthy approach of the midnight assassin may bring him close on his victim under cover. Well, indeed, is it ordered that our knowledge of the future is a total blank. Had I foreseen what *was* to be, how much of pleasure and peace, in a sense of security, I should have lost,—and how wretchedly the two years preceding the first attempt at a massacre would have dragged on, in this seemingly earthly paradise! It left nothing to be desired as a place to *live* in,—and the real objection, that it was a very likely place to die in, did not strike the mind — though obviously enough a very bad location in which to defend oneself. From the end of

the avenue, through which a mid-day sun could only pour a chequered arabesque of light and shade, the bay stretched far away a thousand feet below, basking in the full glare of sunshine, and making the deep cool shade of the terrace, with its thick screen of green leaves, all the more enjoyable by contrast. It is true it swarmed with mosquitoes: — this little disadvantage I perceived at once; — but it was only later that I had the satisfaction of learning it was celebrated all over Yeddo for its breed! But even with the place at my disposal, and it may well be supposed I did not hesitate in my choice, all was not sunshine with its priestly owners. I fancy they saw this intrusion of the *Tojin* (foreigner), into their sacred precincts, with little satisfaction. The lay proprietor of the domain, the Prince of Xendai, had not the reputation of being very friendly to us; and I have never been able to discover by what tenure these temples are held, to be so entirely, as they seem, at the disposal of the Tycoon's government. Many of them, as this temple of Tozengee, are built and endowed by Daimios out of their own property. Sometimes, to escape the cares and responsibilities of a Daimio's life, neither few nor light in Japan, they voluntarily resign all their possessions to a son, as soon as they have one of age — lay down their power, and retire to one of these temples, living in retirement, with shaven crowns, for the rest of their lives. This, perhaps, may account for the fact that to every temple there is attached a suite of apartments, larger or smaller, according to its pretensions, where guests and official personages may find temporary accommodation. But as regards Yeddo, whatever may be the tenure, it would appear the Tycoon, with or without the consent of the lay proprietor, disposes of this part of the accommodation whenever he requires it.

The difficulty I encountered, and which cost me a stout fight of more than an hour's duration, was the alleged inability of the Tycoon to compel the priests to give up any portion of the building or grounds habitually occupied by them; — and *their* unwillingness to treat — on

any basis of equivalent compensation, which I readily offered — for the surrender of an additional set of rooms and a courtyard, absolutely essential for the putting up of a large establishment of Europeans and their servants, with stables, store rooms, &c.

This was my first trial, and I had more than once well nigh given it up in despair, and gone elsewhere. And this I had to intimate, finally, before I succeeded in obtaining such extension as I knew to be absolutely necessary. When well nigh wearied out, enough was at last obtained, foot by foot, to enable me to make arrangements for putting every one up decently,—though certainly not luxuriously. By a different disposition of sliding panels (delightful style of architecture, when, like Mr. Briggs, you have to turn the parlour into the passages), and with the aid of carpenters to adjust them, and masons to build kitchens, stables, and outhouses in the yard, that it had cost so much hard fighting to win, all in the establishment were arranged for. The Japanese officials finally took their leave, and we bade each other good bye, both probably well satisfied that at least one troublesome business was settled,—and there was no more to be asked or refused. I dare say the room demanded for half a dozen Europeans was considered very exorbitant, — our modes of life are so different; and then the upholstery! I had tables, and chairs, and bedsteads, and sofas enough to fill up entirely the first three rooms they placed at my disposal. I think it is very possible Moriyama and his superiors, when our backs were turned, may have mutually exclaimed 'what fools these foreigners are that they cannot live without such a mass of four-legged incumbrances, which destroy the mats, and leave no room either to move or to sleep in!' And there have been moments, in my numerous translations from place to place in the East, when, if I had heard such a comment, I might certainly have chimed in with a very cordial Amen!

I have not yet forgotten the rush and turmoil consequent on the transport of two hundred cases into the once secluded temple grounds, the contents of all being wanted

at once by half a dozen different proprietors;—masters and their servants seeking vainly to evoke some order out of such a chaos and *embarras de richesse*—English, French, Dutch, Japanese, and Chinese, a polyglot of languages, all adding their quota to other elements of confusion.

It was a very Malakoff in Tozengee that day. Legs of sofas were met in despairing search of their bodies; side-boards on their backs, waiting prostrate for their supports; beds which could not find their bedsteads; chairs, as I have said, only fit for Chelsea Hospital, and with so many broken legs and damaged arms that future service seemed quite out of the question. Then came the crockery and glass chaos, quite a department of its own,—urged into active commotion by the conscious sense, among the living agents, that some twenty people, before dark, would be vicious for want of food and drink, and clamorous for both. To crown our troubles, the whole of the cutlery was missing. Nobody could find the box with the knives and forks! Nor were they discovered for three weeks. So carefully had they been packed away, that all trace of their place of concealment had been lost.

Fortunately the most grievous times come to an end; and when people are utterly exhausted and worn out with fatigue, they 'drink deep of all the blessedness of sleep,' —beds or no beds—if not wholly supperless.

But the capital of the Tycoon, though it has been traversed, has yet to be described, and deserves a chapter to itself. The installation of a new Legation in an Eastern land is a rude undertaking,—trying to the patience as well as the strength of the first pioneers, and could not possibly be dismissed with a cursory notice. It is not often that a description appears in print, and yet, like most other trials in this life, it has its ludicrous side, and we can afford to look back upon it with a smile, however grimly we may have stood on the battle-field, with packing-cases for the enemy, and hungry assailants with hammer and chisel tearing out their entrails, preparatory to a final act condemning them to an *auto da fé*, to supply the place of fuel.

CHAPTER V.

THE CAPITAL AND ITS ENVIRONS—STEREOSCOPIC VIEWS OF TOWN AND COUNTRY.

BEFORE proceeding farther in this narrative of a long residence at the Court of the Tycoon, I would fain give something in the way of description, which should answer the purpose of a series of stereoscopic views, embracing not only the outward aspect of the capital and surrounding country, — of houses and streets, temples and Daimios' Yamaskas,*— hill and bay, field and hamlet, such as would be presented to the eye of a traveller in a few hours' ride;— but the life and varying aspects of the city and its inhabitants— according to the hour of the day or the season of the year. Only thus will any casual reader be able thoroughly to realise the scene in which many of the principal events and incidents hereafter to be related were acted. Without such aid, it would indeed be impossible for those at a distance to enter into, and understand, the strange life into which the Diplomatic Agents of Western Powers were suddenly thrown; constrained to fight their way among hostile factions, and through dangers and difficulties unknown to the Legations of Europe. 'Western diplomacy and Eastern policy' form a chapter, in the history of international relations, which has yet to be written; and not the least curious or important of the materials for such a chapter, it will be seen, may be drawn from a narrative

* The name of the residence of a Prince or Daimio.

of our relations with Japan and its long-secluded race, during the first years of our residence at the capital. But it would lose much of its interest if the reader could form no picture in his mind of what the Japanese are like;—how they 'live, and move, and have their being;' in a word, of the leading features which characterise both the people and their country.

To traverse Europe, and the whole breadth of Asia, and find the living embodiment of a state of society which existed many centuries ago in the West, but has long passed utterly away; — to mark its reproduction in all the details and distinctive characters (only with much greater knowledge of the arts of life, and a more advanced material civilisation in the body of the nation), is certainly a novel condition, well calculated to give additional piquancy to the details of life in Japan in this nineteenth century. It is therefore with deliberate forethought, and in order that the reader may more fully realise this Oriental phase of feudalism, such as our ancestors knew it in the time of the Plantagenets, that I would pray him to keep the stereoscopic tube to his eye, and shut out all preconceived views, and all surrounding objects, which speak of a later age and a different race. We are going back to the twelfth century in Europe, for there alone shall we find the counterpart, in many essential particulars, of 'Japan as it is.'

Perhaps a ride through the streets and environs of Yeddo, at different hours of the day and seasons of the year;—noting how the very streets and houses change their physiognomy;—is, after all, not only the most pleasant and least laborious mode of studying the 'Civilisation, Manners, and Customs of the Japanese, in their physical, political, and social conditions,' — but one calculated to give a livelier and a truer conception of what these political and social conditions are, than more systematic methods, to which ambitious compilers of old materials have given such exhaustive title-pages.

Our way lies, first, along the edge of the bay, under the

bluff which skirts it, where the suburb of Sinagawa merges into the city, much as Kensington straggles into London. Along the ill-paved road (the worst bit for fifty miles in a country remarkable for the finest macadamised roads in the world) we pick our way. The bay, stretching to the right, is occasionally shut out by rows of houses — many of which are tea-houses, and some only mere arbours for travellers coming from afar, to sit and rest in, while they sip their tea, and enjoy the fair prospect of the rippling waters and distant shores on the one side; — or the ways and manners of the Capital, if they turn to the great high road. This road forms, in fact, the main street here. So, as we pace gently along, not to incommode the never-failing stream of pedestrians, — of 'Norimons,' and 'Kangos,'— varied now and then by a group of Yakonins on horse-back, or some Daimio's *cortége* of mixed horse and foot, with spear and halberd, crest and pennon, as in olden days in other lands — we have time to peer into the shops, open in front, and through the shops to the small back room, which generally forms the whole interior, and the region of domestic duties. The shops are of all kinds, but none in this quarter of the town are of very great size or importance. The common necessaries of life are on sale in many. There are booksellers'; — shops of bronze and copper ware; — pawnbrokers', and old iron shops. Bath houses, coopers, and basket-makers, armourers and sword-makers, with here and there a stall of ready-made clothes, or a print shop, fill up the list. Every hundred steps, more or less, we pass a ward-gate, which at night they can close, if an alarm of thieves is given; or by day, if any disturbance should arise: — while a sort of decrepit municipal guard is kept in a lodge at each, supposed to be responsible for the peace of their wards, and to be ever vigilant! Some, as we pass, rush out with a long iron pole, to the top of which rings are attached, and make a distracting noise when the lower end is struck on the ground. This is considered an honour, but one to which my horses generally showed

such a decided objection, that the wanders in all my more usual beats learned at last to dispense with it on ordinary occasions: so now we pass unhonoured — and unmolested; with the farther advantage of seeing how a Japanese keeps vigilant guard. There they are, three in number — two old men and a boy — squatted on their knees, the eldest, half dozing,—the other two drawing, by long inhalation, the smoke out of their small copper-headed pipes,— and dreaming away their existence.

After a mile of the Tocado, our road turns off into a side street, narrower and more crowded. A Daimio's residence extends the greater part of its length on one side, with a large and imposing-looking gateway in the centre, from which stretches a long line of barred windows. Through these the faces of men, women, and children may be seen, eagerly or idly, as the case may be, looking at the passers-by. A small, narrow, and very muddy moat, little more than a gutter, keeps all intruders from too close prying. But these outbuildings are only the quarters of the numerous retainers attached, as in Europe in former times, to every baron and knight, by a feudal tenure; — and constituting at once the chief sources of his expenditure, and the evidence of his rank or power. In many cases, these extend for a quarter of a mile on each side of the main entrance, and form in effect the best defence for their lord's apartments, which are at the back of the courtyard behind the gates, *entre cour et jardin*, as in the Faubourg St. Germain, and still to be seen there and elsewhere in Europe, as relics of a former age.

We soon emerge into an open space in front of the Tycoon's Cemetery, and through it a small river runs, fringed with fresh green banks, and a row of trees. A narrow strip next to the water, marking its tortuous course, has been taken possession of for cotters' cabbage gardens. Here, in the open space above, forming a sort of boulevard, Matsuri, or public fairs, are often held, and, in their absence, story-tellers collect a little audience.

A few noisy beggars generally take up their position by the wayside, and, although they receive gratefully a single cash from their own countrymen, they never con-

A GROUP OF 'JOLLY BEGGARS'

descend to ask a foreigner for less than a *tempo*,—equivalent to a hundred cash! Here a party of jugglers may often be seen too, collecting a crowd from the passers-by. Blondin and the Wizard of the North might both find formidable rivals here;—for the Japanese performers not only swallow portentously long swords, and poise themselves on bottles;—but out of their mouths come the most unimaginable things—flying horses, swarms of flies, ribbons by the mile, and paper shavings without end.

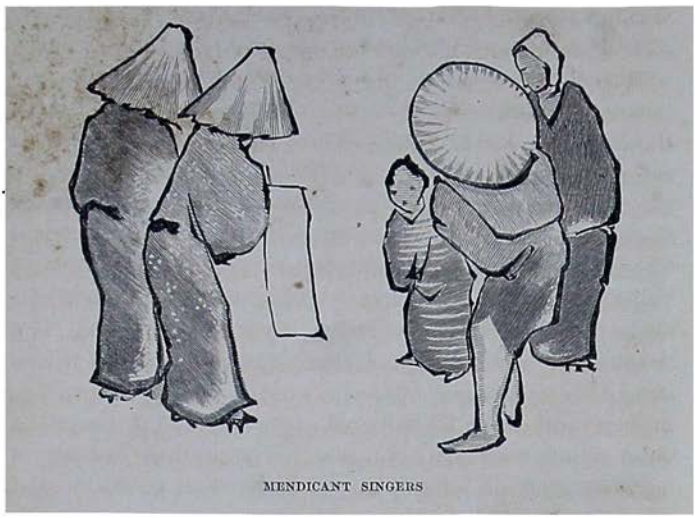
On crossing the bridge, we traverse one of the most densely populated of the commercial quarters, through which, indeed, we can only ride slowly, and in single file, amidst pedestrians and porters with their loads. Bullock-cars, Norimons, and Kangos are all here, jostling each other in contending currents. Over a gentle hill, then sharp round to the right, through a barrier-gate, we approach the official quarter, in the centre of which, within three moats of regal dimensions, the Tycoon him-

self resides. But we are not yet near to it. We pursue our way down some rather steep steps — a Daimio's residence on one side, and the wall and trees of the Tycoon's Cemetery, which we are skirting, on the other. As we emerge from this defile, we pass through a long line of booths, where a sort of daily bazaar is held for the sale of gaudily-coloured prints, maps (many of them copies of European charts), story-books, swords, tobacco pouches, and pipes, for the humbler classes; and in the midst of which a fortune-teller may habitually be seen, seemingly finding plenty of credulous listeners, and the few cash necessary for his daily wants. Something very like the gambling table of our own fairs may also be seen in the same spot; but, judging by the stock-in-trade and the juvenile customers, the gambling, I suspect, is only for sweetmeats. Their serious gambling is reserved for tea-houses, and more private haunts, where the law may be better defied. On festive occasions, a row of dingy booths divided by curtains into small compartments is often seen, provided for the lowest class. The Social Evil is here a legalised institution, and nowhere takes a more revolting form.

In all this there is little new, perhaps, except the mere outer lineaments and costume; for human nature is essentially the same under all skies and governments. And now we have arrived at our first halt. Through the gateway may be seen the double flights of steps, the one leading up to the top of the hill, in perpendicular and unbroken line; the other curving less abruptly upward. And, although the height is probably the same, the undulating flight *looks* so much less arduous, that we instinctively turn to the right, willing to believe in its gentler promise.

Many pedestrians—pilgrims from afar, and idle Yeddites from the neighbouring thoroughfares—are passing up and down. And among all the strange and novel sights, few strike the stranger as more singular than a class of penitents, or disgraced officers, who move about habitually

with their heads buried in a sort of basket mask, completely concealing the face. Lonins, outlaws and great criminals, are said to adopt this mode of travelling when wishing to elude observation. Whether their incognito is always respected by the police, I cannot say. They recall the brothers of the Misericordia, and begging penitents—still to be seen in the towns of Italy—relics of mediæval times —and it is not a little singular to find their counterpart here.



MENDICANT SINGERS

Officers on horseback, wearing the badge either of the Tycoon or their feudal chief, are passing to and fro, preceded by one or more footmen or grooms, who always accompany their masters, and keep their pace, however rapid. Some of them have marvellous powers of running, in wind and limb. I had more than one who would run three or four leagues at a stretch by the side of the horse, and without distress;—or used to do so, before they got too fat and lazy in the foreigner's service.

And thus we gain the summit of *Atango-yama*, so called from the god *Atango*, to whom a temple is dedicated here. From no other point can so fine and commanding

a view of the Bay of Yeddo, and the city washed by its waves, be obtained. And the picture that bursts suddenly upon the traveller is very striking. The hill fronts to the bay, but with a couple of miles of valley intervening, thickly covered by streets and temples. To the left, and in a north-eastern direction, another two miles interval of plain is in like manner filled up with a dense mass of houses, until a range of hills is reached on which the Tycoon's castle stands. The whole enceinte of the official quarter, within a triple line of moats, is there — not only the official residences of his court, but the *yamaskas* of the feudatory Daimios. This range shuts out a still more extensive section of the city, which stretches away into the country on the other side, and may be traced from the point where the spur of the hill ends abruptly towards the bay, winding round the edge of the coast line, and backwards up the valley, until nearly lost in the distance. Behind, yet another large quarter of the capital is hid from view by a broken series of hills and dales, amidst which only here and there a group of temples can be distinguished; a Daimio's residence and park, or a few streets straggling irregularly over the crests and down into the broken hollows. Seaward the eye looks out upon the point which conceals Kanagawa;—and across the line of batteries a couple of miles from shore,—on to the distant line of coast and mountain, some two or three leagues off, which form the boundary on the opposite side.

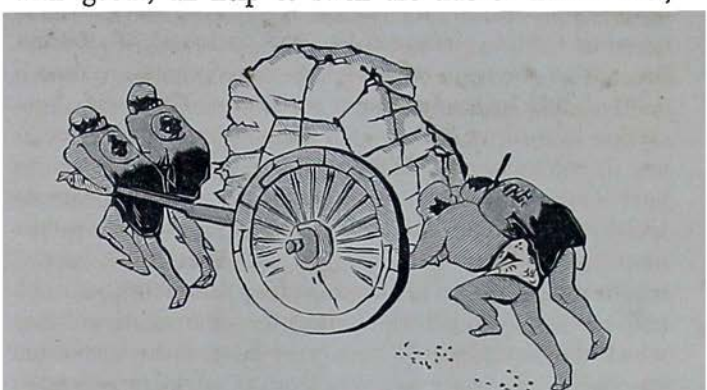
Fair to look on is the capital of the Tycoon, even in winter, thus nestled in a broad valley, girdled with green woods and crowned by undulating hills, sloping with a gradual descent to the edge of a bay, into which the Pacific seeks in vain to pour its stormy waters. Nature has barred the entrance, twenty miles below, with a breakwater of volcanic islands and verdant headlands on either side. And, to make it more secure, she has shoaled the whole gulf, so that five miles from the city it is difficult to find anchorage for a vessel drawing twenty feet—the best of all defences against assault from

without, whether the elements or a hostile fleet be the enemy! Nor are these Eastern potentates at all ignorant of the fact; for when a proposal was made some time ago to the King of Siam to remove the bar at the mouth of the river leading to Bangkok, his Majesty frankly replied: 'If necessary, I would pay you to keep it there for the defence of my capital!' The government at Yeddo, not content with what nature has done, are busily engaged in erecting another battery, to carry the chain of fortifications still higher up the bay. They have no idea, therefore, of being found defenceless; though, of all cities situated on the edge of navigable water, there are few so unattackable by a naval force as Yeddo. The only conclusion to be drawn from such preparations for defence, is not of good augury. Either the Japanese would seem to have looked forward to an attack, as a contingency to which they had unavoidably become exposed, from the moment the treaties were signed with Foreign Powers — whom it would seem in that case they little trust, and like still less — or they had themselves some ulterior policy which they knew would, sooner or later, make a collision inevitable. If we are to judge from the evident efforts, so perseveringly made, to prepare for effective resistance, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion. Not only new batteries were erected at Yeddo, and the port of Kanagawa below, but enough gunpowder is habitually expended in musket and artillery practice, in the course of a few months, to supply an army during a whole campaign.

When I paid a visit to Hakodate some months after my arrival, where there are extensive lead mines, which I had been over, I asked the Governor why his government did not allow some of the produce to be exported, suggesting that it might be a source of national wealth and revenue? And the reply was characteristic in many ways. 'We have none to spare.' 'None to spare!' I rejoined in surprise, 'what can you use it for? you neither employ it in building nor utensils.' 'We want it all for *ball practice*.' They did not choose to export it, for reasons

not very easily explained; but they were not sorry, perhaps, to point to such a use for *home consumption*.

It is nine o'clock in the morning. The city is up and stirring. The shops are opened, and the streets are filling with a swarming population. The street vendor with his ambulatory stock, the halting beggar, officers on duty with their retainers or serving-men, strings of coolies and porters, some dragging and pushing primitive carts laden with goods, all help to swell the tide of human life;



MERCHANDISE IN THE STREETS OF YEDDO

shopkeepers proceeding with goods to show some purchaser, according to the inverse custom of the Japanese—where the shops go to the customer, not the customer to the shops. Our road takes us through park and garden-bordered streets and lanes, alternating over undulating hills, high enough occasionally to give glimpses of the open country beyond, with rice ground, black and fallow, in the lower levels, during part of winter. The growing wheat, of brightest green, carpets the uplands even in March, however; the rape seed with its golden flowers catches the eye, and everywhere unmistakeable signs of skilled agricultural labour and wealth may be seen. In all seasons of the year verdure and beauty of no common character clothe the hills, broken into a hundred winding

vales for many leagues around Yeddo, on all the land-side; for, unlike its population, the country never lets itself be seen naked, and scarcely *en déshabille*, even when stripped barest of its foliage. A few trees lose their leaves entirely, and stretch their naked arms to a wintry sky; but in close proximity will always be seen some full-leafed evergreens, often noble trees, and, like the oak, of several varieties. The cryptomeria, and a larger family of coniferæ than anywhere else in the world, perhaps, are

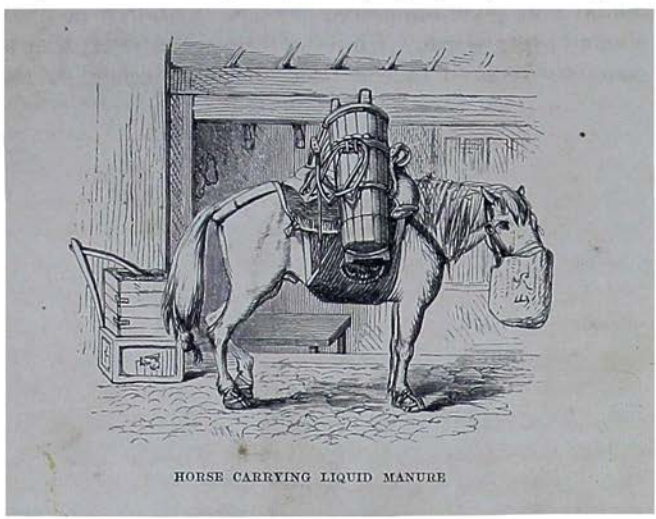
SHOPKEEPER GOING TO A CUSTOMER

here. The cypress, with its sombre foliage, contrasts well with the lighter hue and graceful branches of the feathery bamboo, or the more stately palm. All are there to give marvellous beauty and variety to the scenery. A little later in the spring there is a lavish display of blossoms, which supply the place of leaves yet in the bud. A variety of flowering shrubs never yet seen in Europe

fill the hedges, and *sometimes* scent the air, as well as please the eye; while acres of orchard ground are covered by pear, and peach, and plum blossoms, the branches trellised horizontally overhead for a hundred square feet and more. The orange tree, with its fragrant white blossoms, is not wanting to grace the spring festival, while the bright yellow flower of the melon covers the poverty of the humblest thatched cottage, or tool-house, and clothes each lowly shed with a robe of beauty. In the tea-gardens, scattered plentifully round the suburbs, the peach and the plum trees are cultivated chiefly with a view to the beauty of the blossom, which attains the size and fulness of a rose, and covers the tree in rich profusion. It is one of the great delights of the Japanese at Yeddo, during all April, to make picnics to these suburban gardens and temples. Groups of men, women, and children, by families, may be seen trooping along the shady roads, on their way to enjoy the beauty of the opening spring; the rich in Norimons, the middle and lower classes on foot. It is sad enough that this Arcadian scene is so often marred by intemperance. Not content with inhaling the freshness of the opening flowers, the men drink deep of *saki*; nor is this practice altogether confined, as one would fain have hoped, to the rougher sex. The latter make the streets unsafe on their return,—especially to dogs and foreigners. They may be met in bands of two or three, with flushed faces, and, now and then, some of the lower class lie stretched across the road, too drunk to go any farther. In the vice of intemperance the Japanese have nothing to learn from foreigners; that, at least, cannot be laid to our charge. They are as much given to drunkenness as any of the northern races of Europe, as quarrelsome as the worst,—and far more dangerous in their cups.

These are drawbacks to the beauty of the landscape and the country lanes; but it must also be admitted, in candour, that the same evils exist in Christian lands—only, fortunately, our drunkards do not carry two sharp

swords in their belt, or feel it a point of honour to flesh them, if any convenient opportunity can be found. In other respects, both country roads and streets in the city of Yeddo will bear advantageous comparison with the best kept of either in the West. No squalid misery or accumulations of filth encumber the well-cared-for streets, if a beggar here and there be excepted — a strange but pleasant contrast with every other Asiatic land I have visited, and not a few European cities. The occasional passage of a train of porters carrying open pails of liquid



HORSE CARRYING LIQUID MANURE

manure from the town to the fields, or a string of horses laden with the same precious but 'perilous stuff' may, indeed, be objected to. But the conical tubs on the horses are carefully covered over, and form, indeed, a great improvement on the open pails. To the unsuspecting traveller the turn-out is rather picturesque, as may be seen by the sketch. These are not only the worst assaults made either on the olfactory or the visual organs, but the sole assailants — when once the eye is accustomed to the summer costume of the lower orders, which with the men is limited to a narrow loin cloth, and the women a

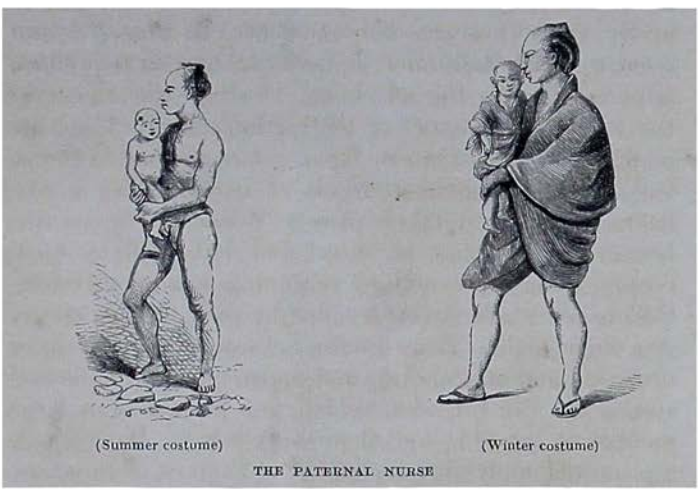
petticoat, sadly 'scrimped' in the breadths. As I have already referred to this ungainly fashion, and would not willingly be supposed capable of 'setting down aught in malice,' or otherwise exaggerating a defect, pictures will be found in these pages, drawn by the Japanese themselves; and I think it will be confessed that their own artists show severer outlines than any pencil of mine.

In the valley between the range of hills and the bay, leagues of continuous streets may be traversed, filled with a busy, but not over-worked, and seemingly a very contented and good-humoured people. Children and dogs abound everywhere. Until the former can walk, they are generally secured to the back of the mother, so that,

HOW MOTHERS DISPOSE OF THEIR INFANTS

while these pursue their daily occupations, their arms are left free. Unfortunately (so it seems to the looker-on) the poor babe's head is left equally free, the body only being supported by the sort of pocket in which the body is deposited; and consequently, with every movement of the parental trunk, it rolls from side to side, swaying to and fro, as if a dislocation of the neck must inevitably be the

result. Vain fear! The mothers know better. Children have been nursed through twenty generations in precisely the same way. The babies themselves may possibly, by use, grow to like it—and certainly they rarely cry, or give other token of dislike. What will not use reconcile us to in this life? But the mothers are not the sole guardians of the infant progeny. It is a very common sight, in the streets and shops of Yeddo, to see a little nude Cupid in the arms of a stalwart-looking father, nearly as naked, who walks about with his small burthen, evidently handling it



THE PATERNAL NURSE

with all the gentleness and dexterity of a practised hand. It does not seem there is any need of a foundling hospital, nor has any intelligence reached me of infanticide—save in exceptional cases—though so common in China, especially in the case of female children. Abortion in the unmarried is said, upon good authority, to be not unfrequent, and there are female professors of the art.

It is impossible to ride through the streets of Yeddo without noticing one of the most striking and constant features of the city, no matter what the season of the year—large gaps where charred timbers and rubbish

mark the scene of a recent fire; and often, standing alone in the midst of smouldering heaps and blackened walls, are single houses, unscathed and erect. These are fire-proof houses, built of mud chiefly, from one to two feet thick, and with windows faced with iron, closing all access to the interior hermetically. They certainly seem to answer their purpose perfectly, though simple enough, and not of any very expensive material, although there is often a sort of coquetry about them, in the shape of lacquered shutters and doors, as if prompted by the overflowing of a grateful heart for the security they give in a city where fires are daily incidents. So natural does it seem, to lavish decoration and costly things on that which wins a place in the affections, whether the object of the love be divine, or 'of the earth, earthy.' There are no fire insurance offices in Japan any more than in China, and but very imperfect means of extinguishing a conflagration when it takes place. Water is scarce; the houses are all built of wood and lath, with a mere coating of mud; — nothing is more common, therefore, than to see whole streets levelled by their terrible enemy in a single night. There are fire-bells and stations at short distances, and an elaborate and apparently well-organised system of fire brigades, which are formed of a large number of the able-bodied in every ward. But without a plentiful supply of water and good engines, mere labour can do little. The bells have distinct modes of communicating information to a great distance, not only of the breaking out of a fire, but the exact quarter in which it is situated, and where assistance is to be directed. As to fire insurance, I once had some conversation with the Ministers on the subject, in which they seemed to take great interest; but they were especially struck by the idea of assurances on life. I think their first idea was that, by some cunning financial operation, a life could be indefinitely prolonged or even brought back, — as they have 'long life pills in gold' everywhere advertised, and supposed to possess some power of securing longevity.

As to the Insurance, I am not quite sure they are so far wrong, in fancying there may be some occult connection between a life annuity and longevity. The Registrar-General's returns of the duration of life in annuitants, compared with other classes, would seem to prove it. But as regards insurance against fire, that from the first seemed to them to be the most hopeless of things! Here, as in China, in addition to the incorrigible carelessness of the natives living in most combustible houses, there is a considerable prevalence of incendiarism — without such additional premium as insurance might offer, where there is no very general trust in each other's honesty. Indeed, in England, grave doubts have been expressed by those best informed, 'whether the practice of insurance, which has done so much to mitigate the ruin brought by fire, may not have exercised some baneful influence by increasing the motives for arson!' So hard is it to devise any good that shall not give rise to an attendant evil. Be this as it may, the Japanese look for no aid in this direction; and take the burning down of a whole quarter periodically, much as they do the advent of an earthquake or a typhoon—calamities beyond the power or wisdom of man to avert. They build their houses accordingly with the least possible expense, as foredoomed sooner or later to be food for the flames, and when the evil comes, lose no time in vain lamentations. They calculate that the whole of this vast city is consumed in successive portions, to be rebuilt in every seven years! It is certainly very rare that a night passes without the fire-bell of the quarter ringing a fearful alarm, and rousing all the neighbourhood; and often during my long residence I have heard them in different quarters, and seen the sky lurid in two or three directions at once.

A good-humoured and contented, as well as a happy race, the Japanese seem, whatever may be their imperfections,—with the one important exception of the military, feudal, and official caste—*classes* I might say, but they are not easily separable: indeed, it seems doubtful whether

there be a *civil* class, since all of a certain rank are armed with two formidable weapons projecting from their belt; swords, like everything else in Japan,— to our worse confusion,— being double, without much or any obvious distinction between military and civil—between Tycoon's, officers', and Daimios' retainers. These are the classes which furnish suitable types of that extinct species of the race in Europe, still remembered as '*Swash-bucklers*,'—swaggering, blustering bullies; many cowardly enough to strike an enemy in the back, or cut down an unarmed and inoffensive man;—but also supplying numbers ever ready to fling their own lives away in accomplishing

TYPE OF THE 'DANGEROUS' CLASSES — (*From a Japanese woodcut.*)

a revenge, or carrying out the behests of their Chief. They are all entitled to the privilege of two swords, rank and file, and are saluted by the unprivileged (professional, mercantile, and agricultural) as *Sama*, or lord. With a rolling straddle in his gait, reminding one of Mr. Kinglake's graphic description of the Janissary, and due to the same cause, — the heavy projecting blades at his waist, and the swaddling-clothes round his body, — the Japanese *Samourai* or *Yaconin* moves on in a very ungainly fashion, the hilts of his two swords at least a foot in

advance of his person, very handy, to all appearance, for an enemy's grasp. One is a heavy two-handed weapon, pointed and sharp as a razor; the other short, like a Roman sword, and religiously kept in the same serviceable state. In the use of these he is no mean adept. He seldom requires a second thrust with the shorter weapon, but strikes home at a single thrust, as was fatally proved at a later period; while with the longer weapon he severs a limb at a blow. Such a fellow is a man to whom all peace-loving subjects and prudent people habitually give as wide a berth as they can! Often drunk, and always insolent, he is to be met with in the quarters of the town where the tea-houses most abound; or returning about dusk, from his day's debauch, with a red and bloated face, and not over steady on his legs, the terror of all the unarmed population and street-dogs. Happy for the former, when he is content with trying the edge of a new sword on the quadrupeds; and many a poor crippled animal is to be seen limping about slashed over the back, or with more hideous evidences of brutality. But at other times it is some coolie or inoffensive shopkeeper, who, coming unadvisedly between 'the wind and his nobility,' is just as mercilessly cut down at a blow. This does not quite accord with Kœmpfer's or Thunberg's account of the perfect order and respect for the law maintained throughout Japan; nor with the first impressions of later writers as to the universal respect for the canine race; but a long residence in the Capital revealed many things still more opposed to the generally received accounts. And that I may not be supposed to overcolour this part of the picture drawn from life, the following extract from the Blue Book, taken from an official letter addressed to the Japanese Ministers of Foreign Affairs not long after my arrival, may show:—

'I was returning on horseback at a quiet pace from the American Legation, about five o'clock, merely followed by a groom on foot to take care of my horse, and a servant on horseback.

"I met in the "tokaido" many officers, some in groups and others alone, armed with their two swords (about as dangerous and deadly weapons as men can well possess), and evidently intoxicated. They were drunk in various degrees, but all—the best of them—were in a state utterly unfit to be at large in a great thoroughfare, or trusted with weapons by which they might in an instant inflict fatal wounds or grievous injury. In such circumstances I have frequently observed before that they are not only insolent, and as a general rule offensive in their gestures and speech when they meet foreigners, but are very prone to put themselves directly in the path, and either dispute the passage with an air of menace, or sometimes even attempt to strike either horse or rider. Several of these disorderly persons I had passed, and as a dispute with a drunken man is always to be avoided by one in his sober senses, I took no heed of their demonstrations of ill-will, and left the passage free; but when within fifty yards of my own door, having just overtaken Mr. Heusken,* one more intoxicated or more insolent than the rest, not content with standing in our path, pushed against both horse and rider, and was thrust aside by one of the grooms who came up; upon which he instantly put his hand to his sword, and fearing a defenceless servant might be cut down by this drunken bravo, I wheeled my horse round, to protect him, if necessary, by interposing myself. But I was unarmed, with only a riding-whip in my hand, and, undoubtedly, as I should not have stood quietly by, and seen a servant murdered who had only done his duty in my defence, it is doubtful what might have been the issue; but another servant who was on horseback had a revolver, and hearing the officer vow immediate vengeance, presented it, declaring he would shoot him if he drew his sword. But for this both the groom and myself might very probably have

* The Secretary of the American Legation, who met his death some eighteen months later at the hands of some such ruffians, who cut him down in the street, while his Japanese guard ran away.

been wounded, if not murdered, by this ruffian, maddened with drink, and armed to the teeth.

'Do your Excellencies mean to tell me that nothing can be done, in this capital of Japan, to prevent men of the rank of officers going about the streets furiously drunk, with two deadly weapons at their side? Is there no law against persons who thus go about, to the disgrace of their rank, and to the manifest danger of every peaceful inhabitant — no punishment or penalty that can be inflicted to deter them from such conduct?'

But for this class of military retainers and Tycoon's officials, high and low, both of which swarm in Yeddo, it seems it might be one of the pleasantest places of residence in the far East. The climate is superior to that of any other country east of the Cape. The capital itself, though spreading over a circuit of some twenty miles, with probably a couple of millions of inhabitants, can boast what no capital in Europe can — the most charming rides, beginning even in its centre, and extending in every direction over wooded hills, through smiling valleys and shady lanes, fringed with evergreens and magnificent timber. Even in the city, especially along the ramparts of the official quarter, and in many roads and avenues leading thence to the country, broad green slopes, and temple gardens, or well-timbered parks gladden the eye, as it is nowhere else gladdened within the circle of a city. No sooner is a suburb gained, in any direction, than hedgerows appear which only England can rival, either for beauty or neatness; while over all an Eastern sun, through the greater part of the year, throws a flood of light from an unclouded sky,—making the deep shadow of the over-arching trees doubly grateful with its ever-varying pictures of tracery, both above and below. Such is Yeddo, and its environs, in the long summer time, and far into a late autumn. Even through the early winter months, until about the middle of February, this description holds good. Then the weather breaks with rain and snow, and easterly winds swelling into gales of two or

WOMAN OF YEDDO IN WINTER DRESS.

three days' duration succeed,— full of danger to ships on the rock-bound coast and stormy seas.

Yeddo must have been looking its best and gayest when its temple and castle-crowned hills first greeted the eyes of Lord Elgin and his suite. And so those who accompanied him have painted it for us in its gala dress, all nature contributing to make it bright. The ministers of the dead Tycoon (for dead he was while the treaty was being negotiated), too happy to terminate a negotiation which could alone rid them of their self-invited and most unwelcome guests, who had arrived in the midst of a palace revolution, 'smiled and smiled' and 'made things pleasant' as they best could. But it may well have been doubted, even then, whether any treaty with Japan could possibly be devised, to establish foreign trade and diplomatic relations,—that would not be utterly distasteful to the Ruling classes.

I have given a glimpse of Yeddo as it may be seen on a bright summer day; but it is not all sunshine in the capital of the Tycoon. Tempests from above, and volcanic throes from below, from time to time give it a very different aspect. From political storms and convulsions it would appear they have been more happily exempt for the last two centuries, than any other capital in modern times; until events, soon to be described, awoke the Yeddo citizens from their dream of chartered security and inspired some anxious doubts as to what might follow of change or revolution,—despite the most perfect and best warranted of State machines! There *is* a winter also in Japan, though less severe in the capital than in the northern and opposite coast of China — still a very unmistakeable winter, with ice and snow; while at Hakodate, in the northernmost island of the group, it is almost Siberian with long-continued and heavy falls of snow, the thermometer standing many degrees below zero. The country at Yeddo seldom, indeed, as I have said, puts on a winter garb. It is in the streets the principal change occurs for as nature throws off her mantle, her children put on

theirs; and the Japanese heap wadded gown on gown, until they get the required warmth — with a notable increase of bulk. A chafing-dish with a handful of charcoal, let into the floor (like the Spanish *brasero*), being the only fire they use in their houses for purposes of warmth, they naturally resort to clothing. The men in the streets seem, above all, careful of the ends of their *noses*, and on a cold day two-thirds of the population are to be seen with all the lower part of their faces concealed by the folds of a blue cotton muffler tied round the head, from under which

THE SAMOURAI

nothing but a pair of eyes can be recognised. And when the wearer carries a couple of deadly weapons at his waist, and advances with a menacing gait, it is difficult to conceive a more assassin-like figure, immediately suggesting a masked bravo, whom it would be unpleasant to meet in a lone place on a dark night. And, in effect, murders and highway robberies appear to be frequent. With the fronts of the houses and shops less open to

the street than when the sun sheds light and heat into their farthest corners, and such sinister-looking figures everywhere meeting the eye,—the whole city puts on something of the aspect of a beleaguered town, peopled only by soldiers or armed men bent on desperate work. If this be the impression conveyed by the narrow streets and crowded thoroughfares of the commercial quarters, it is still farther suggested on emerging from these into the Daimios' quarter, circling between broad moats round the Tycoon's castle. Here are fine open spaces, great causeways or glacis, not less than fifty feet in width, lined on one side with the outer buildings and great massive-looking gateways of the Daimios' residences, and those of the high officers in the employment of the government; and on the other by the large deep moats, fed by tributary rivers, in which, at this season of the year, thousands of wild fowl live undisturbed. It being death to molest or shoot them, they are so secure that it is almost impossible to get them up; — but if for a moment they are startled, they rise like a dark cloud from the water, in immense numbers. In the more shallow parts, the sacred ibis of Egypt solemnly picks his way and his food, enjoying, as an emblem of happiness and longevity with the Japanese, quite as much sanctity as in the land of the Pharaohs. With the agriculturists the whole race of storks, cranes, and paddy birds, of which there are great numbers, are in much favour (partly, no doubt, for their useful qualities); and they may often be seen in twos and threes following the plough, with the greatest gravity, close at the heels of the peasant, picking the worms out of the fresh upturned earth, and making their morning meal, equally to his advantage and their own.

The moats, like the causeways which serve as glacis, are wide, with sloping banks descending to the water's edge, some fifty feet or more from the level of the road. These are in some places massive walls, and in others faced with turf; always beautifully kept — smooth as

any gentleman's lawn in England, and always green, surmounted at the top by a rampart wall. Where walls and bastions of stone exist, these are composed of blocks of granite, consisting of polygons laid on each other in irregular lines without mortar, the better to meet the shocks of continual earthquakes, by allowing a certain latitude of motion without fracture or serious displacement. From many of these steep green banks, fine cypresses and cedars rise up perpendicularly, nearly to the level of the parapets, or overhang the water below; an innovation perhaps on our ideas of defensive works, detrimental to their security, but singularly conducive to their beauty. Strong, and almost impregnable as these triple lines of bastion, rampart, and moat appear on the first aspect, they have evidently been constructed in ignorance of some of the first principles of the engineer's art, as regards military defence against artillery. But curious to say, although so evidently built at a vast expense for defence, not a single piece of ordnance is anywhere to be seen within the official quarter. Each moat is crossed at three or four points in the circle, by solidly constructed timber bridges,—flanked by high massive gateways and bastions, built with Cyclopean blocks of granite. The gates are strong, copper sheathed, and iron clamped;—but nothing in the shape of a drawbridge exists.

As the whole of this quarter of the city occupies the crown of a range of hills projecting across the valley, and dividing it in two, covering an area of several miles in circumference, it offers many commanding sites and some wide sweeps of landscape worthy of the pencil of a Roberts or a Stanfield, if Japan could boast such talented sons. The broad causeway in curving lines,—bounded on one side by the moat, with green banks shelving steeply down from the upper level—and on the other by Daimios' residences—Yamaskas with their gateways of quaint and elaborate architecture—form the natural foreground. To fill up the picture, giving life and movement to the scene, groups of horsemen with pedes-

trians intermingled are never wanting. Sometimes an imposing cortége will be seen emerging from a gateway, with standards and state umbrellas — norimons and led horses — easily recognised as the escort of a Daimio, proceeding to the palace, to pay his obligatory visit to the Tycoon; — or some more modest train, forming the suite of an officer attached either to the Tycoon or a great feudatory prince — in his costume of ceremony, called *Kamisima*, with its projecting wings of gauze — is proceeding to his destination; — gravely and solemnly, as is the wont of his order. He is perched on the top of a break-neck saddle; his bridle of silken folds is held one in

OFFICER ON URGENT DUTY

each hand, and wide apart — by it, indeed, he seems to hold on,—sawing at a small snaffle, to the destruction of his horse's mouth. A groom walks at his stirrup on each side — to defend him if attacked, or assist him to keep his seat, if he should be in danger of falling,— while two more lead the impetuous animal! More rarely some official sent on urgent business presses his steed into a sort of shambling gallop — to the peril of both man and beast, to all appearance — both being equally unaccustomed to such a pace. It is *vulgar* and *low* to ride fast in Japan; consequently a furious pace in a

Japanese means either drunkenness or mischief, generally both — or unquestionable urgency on the Tycoon's business. Farther on, scattered here and there as if designed to fill up the picture, are divers groups of Yeddites — citizen and peasant — with a certain proportion of *valetaille* and feudal retainers of all ranks. These give interest to a foreground of grand proportions and bold outline; while beyond, and on a much lower level, glimpses of the city appear, stretching away to the blue waters of the bay, covered with fantastically rigged boats and junks. No capital in Europe presents so many striking features of a type altogether peculiar; nor upon the whole can any boast of so much beauty in the site and surrounding country, and this for leagues in every direction. And probably no other capital would prove so difficult to occupy by an enemy, unless his army rivalled the invading force of Xerxes in number. The official quarter alone, with the Tycoon's castle in the centre, which is the key of the whole position, could not be *occupied* with safety, or be defended, except by a very large force, so wide is the area it covers. But no European general would think of occupying so vast a city. One or two strong positions might be seized, from which the greater part could be commanded or destroyed without difficulty, although the whole could not be held, with a hostile population. Probably the Japanese may themselves have come to this conclusion also; and thus thought they might dispense with armed batteries round their ramparts. This capitol of the Tycoon's metropolitan city (for Yeddo is not, properly speaking, the capital of *Japan*, but MIAKO, which is the residence of the *Mikado*, the hereditary and only recognised titular sovereign), in which large bodies of armed retainers and Tycoon's officers have their quarters, seems indeed rather for a show of strength and power, than for actual defence — except, perhaps, in case of civil feuds and insurrection. Their history seems to say these have never broken out since the civil wars, which followed for the succession to

the '*Tycoonat*,' created by the strong arm and determined will of *Taikosama*. He it was who reduced the boldest to subjection, and broke the power of many of the independent princes. To exterminate Christianity and humble the great nobles, seem to have been the two main objects he had in view; for in both he saw dangerous enemies to the Sovereign power, by whomsoever wielded. He accomplished the first of these in his lifetime, but could only pave the way for the last; — and like other successful soldiers and conquerors, who have sought to found a dynasty, and devoted their energies to secure it from all future dangers, he worked for posterity, — not, as he fondly hoped, for his own offspring. The present dynasty acknowledges no drop of his blood. Not even his own son, whom he left an infant to the guardianship of his uncle, ever held the reins of power, but perished in the attempt to assert his right when arrived at man's estate. In this same effort many Christian converts and their Foreign teachers joined,—and the failure of an appeal made to arms was the destruction of both. And so died out of the land the Christianity of a century's growth at Simabara.

This train of thought has led us far from Yeddo, and all it contains of promise for the present; but not before our journey through its rural lanes and populous streets had come to a natural close. The stereoscopic slides are exhausted, and I put away the box, — not without hope that the purpose of the hour has been answered, and some true idea given, both of the capital of the Tycoon and its population, in many of their leading characteristics.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST LESSONS IN JAPANESE DIPLOMACY.

AS some days were required for carpenters and masons to convert the temple rooms into a habitable residence for Europeans, with far other wants than the Spartan habits of the Japanese suggest, I turned the delay to account by making arrangements for the opening of Kanagawa on the day fixed by treaty—July 1, 1859. This is the shipping port of Yeddo, lying some sixteen miles farther down the bay on the western side. There is a small town here, built along the northern shore of an inner bay, nearly a mile and a half in depth, and more than that across from point to point. It is situated on the Tocado, the imperial high road, leading, as already explained, from all the southern provinces to the capital; — along which the princes and Daimios, whose territories lie southward, have to pass—in their compulsory journeys to and fro, to take up their official residence under the eyes of the Tycoon's Government, for six months in the year.

Whether the compulsory nature of the journey sours the temper of these Magnates of the land, and renders it unpleasant to have any dealings with them, on such occasions especially — or whether a known hostility to foreigners existed in the breasts of the Daimios, which made it inexpedient, if not dangerous, that the two should meet, might be a question—but it soon appeared that the Japanese Government had formed a very decided resolution to locate the foreigners, not at Kanagawa, where the treaty stipulated;—but on the opposite point of the bay, at a place called Yokohama, where a fishing

village existed, in the midst of a marsh, and far away from the direct line of traffic through the country.

On the first view, there seemed many and grave objections to this arbitrary transfer of locality; and perhaps I felt all the less disposed to give in to such an arrangement, from the evidence that the Government must have determined the location *should* be where they had elected, and nowhere else. They had gone to vast expense in building a causeway across the lagunes and marshy ground for nearly two miles, to shorten the distance—and afford a certain and direct means of communication with the high road at Kanagawa. I found solid granite piers and landing-places had already been built: and an extemporised town for Japanese traders, with a number of small houses and go-downs for the foreign merchants, were all prepared;—together with a large range of official quarters, in which a custom-house was already established.

All these tangible evidences of a foregone conclusion, —and a determination to allow no voice in the matter to the Foreign Representatives, naturally excited suspicion as to the motives for such a course, and the wisdom of concurrence. The allegation of the officials was, that Mr. Harris, the American Minister, when at Yeddo the previous year, had seen the locality and accepted it. Of course this was open to the obvious reply, that Mr. Harris could not possibly have accepted any location other than the treaty stipulated,—except for his own Government or countrymen, and had no power or authority to decide for his colleagues. Fortunately at this moment Mr. Harris arrived in person from Simoda, and on being referred to, he not only denied having given any assent, but assured me he had strongly remonstrated against the proposed site, as one to which serious objections attached.

Nevertheless, there was the location, and a site prepared, at an enormous expenditure of labour and money. Not only this, but there was a certainty of a long struggle and great delay before any other site could be obtained; and

several ships were already in harbour, with pioneers of trade on board, from Nagasaki and China, eager to try the new port, and, of course, clamorous for instant accommodation and facilities. This was an embarrassing position for all parties. It was impossible, against our conviction of what was really best for the permanent and national interests at stake, to sanction the off-hand proceeding of the Japanese Government; and yet it was easy to foresee that, after having gone so far, they would in all probability not recede, but find means of carrying their point, sooner or later.

Here was the first difficulty in our relations, and how it was best to be met was not easily determined. Mr. Harris and I both saw, in this set purpose of the Japanese to locate the foreign trade there and nowhere else, a design to make another Decima—to place the merchants where they could be most easily and completely isolated,—their trade watched and controlled,—and in such a situation, in short, as should enable the Japanese officials to exercise *a restrictive power upon all trade.* Every Japanese approaching the settlement, must either pass along two miles of exposed causeway, with a gate at each end;—or cross the bay, the edge of which was already studded with watch-houses. It naturally followed that, not only had the officials the power of effectually preventing any communication with the foreigner, except such as they might choose to allow, and under such conditions as the Government might see fit secretly to impose—but *without appearing to move in the matter*, they could exercise any amount of interference and control over the trade;—since not an ounce of silk or a chest of tea could find its way to the foreign merchant thus located, until sanctioned; nor a bale of his own goods pass out of such a cleverly contrived trap for traders.

That this among other objects was distinctly contemplated, it sufficed to know what had been the policy of the Japanese at Nagasaki for the previous two centuries—and to see the disposition of the ground with the works

so energetically accomplished in anticipation. They had, too evidently, one stereotyped idea as to foreigners and foreign trade;—and they had proceeded with the instinct and perseverance of beavers, to work out the conception, — damming up all but the one entrance or exit, which enabled them to keep vigilant watch and ward on all that might go in or come out.

This was not an auspicious opening to free trade under the treaties; and both the American Minister and myself determined vigorously to resist this attempt to place the merchants in a disadvantageous position,—and perpetuate a state of things which it was the great object of the treaties to put an end to for ever. Either, indeed, such a policy must be reversed, or the treaties would become worthless as waste paper. Due notice was accordingly given by both of us to our respective countrymen, that we should resist this attempt to force them into the Decima-like settlement, so astutely prepared;—and recommended some patience and self-denial while the battle was being fought, in their interest and that of all trade at the port. I confess I felt anything but sanguine as to the result. Past experience led me to conclude there was a losing fight before us,—though one we could not consistently or conscientiously decline.

How vain it is by anything short of a law with specific penalties to induce the rough and ready pioneers of commerce, who first rush into a new port in the East, to listen either to advice or injunction,—if it run counter to their immediate convenience or temporary interest,—I had not now to learn. Nevertheless, it was necessary in the discharge of a public duty to make the attempt. Above all, it was needful to protect those who might come after them, so far as this might be possible, and the permanent interests of trade in Japan,—from what threatened to prove a serious detriment to both, — and might, at any moment, be made, in Japanese hands, the destruction of the latter. We had scarcely returned to Yeddo when I heard that first one mercantile agent, and

then another had taken up their quarters at Yokohama—some partly driven by distress for lodging—of course refused elsewhere, and pressed upon them with the utmost benevolence in the forbidden location, by the Japanese. These had their own game to play, and were of course not at all slow to begin, by setting the merchants and their Representatives at cross purposes, and in unseemly antagonism.

From that time it was manifestly a losing fight against all odds. We were, in fact, to all appearance, insisting upon a right in behalf of our merchants, which they themselves, the chief parties interested, repudiated as much as the Japanese Government! The record of such past struggles against adverse elements, is not likely to be read with much interest now, and therefore I will merely state the result. The consuls were placed in *Kanagawa*, and after some weeks of negotiation (during which the Japanese Government insisted that Yokohama was, in fact, Kanagawa, that name including the whole district;—and therefore that it was not contrary to, but in strict accordance with, treaty, to locate the foreign settlement where it was) they gave way, and a site was obtained on the edge of the bay outside Kanagawa and *nearer to Yeddo* by a league. Merchants and Consuls both, might have as much land as they desired, or chose to pay for—buying out the proprietors where any houses actually existed. But in the interval more pioneers of foreign trade had arrived,—of many nationalities,—and some with very few scruples. More accommodation had been afforded them (by the most obliging of governments), despite 'the unrelenting hostility and perversity of the Foreign Representatives at Yeddo'—and trade once located, makes a channel, from which no government influence (unless it be such as the Japanese employ) can easily turn it. Trade, where it once strikes root, is far more difficult to transplant than trees; even were it not otherwise contrary to the whole spirit of our legislation, to force its growth in any particular locality or direction. Having therefore

secured a free choice and, in some important respects at least, if not in all, a more eligible site, the rest was left to the merchants themselves, without official intervention or obstacle;—to be decided by them and the course of events. A good deal of ill-blood was created at the time, to judge by the amount of anonymous abuse that found its way into the local press in China; but a year had not passed before all the available land and houses had been got into the large and tenacious grasp of the first comers, who had money at command;—and as new arrivals came, a wild cry of despair and injured prospects arose—'there was no more land to be obtained!' The first on the ground had followed

> — the good old plan,
> That all should take who have the power,
> And all should keep who can;

or, at least, only *part* with it at a price which would bring enormous returns,—and impose very onerous conditions on the later purchasers. I thought the time had then arrived to intervene with effect, and with advantage to all, in order not only to secure a legal tenure, and evoke some order out of existing confusion, but procure more land, otherwise wholly unattainable by any efforts of the merchants. For the Japanese, having got them there permanently located;—it was not at all in their project, when Kanagawa was secured from their presence, to give them any larger facilities for trade. The question as to choice of site having to all appearance been practically settled, wisely or otherwise, by the merchants themselves, who were on the spot,—I entered into communication with the Japanese Government on the subject. After pointing out the efforts they had successfully made, contrary to my wish and that of the other Foreign Representatives, to locate foreigners on the Yokohama site, lavishly placing at the disposal of the *first comers*,—without regard to the just rights of those who might follow, or the permanent interests of the port,—all the land and

house accommodation available — avoiding at the same time every vestige of legal tenure — it was necessary this state of confusion and unequal appropriation of land should cease. In view of their own antecedent course, I insisted upon their obligation immediately to extend the site to the foot of the bluff forming the front of the bay, giving a mile more of water-frontage and a proportionate depth, — which latter might afterwards be extended *ad libitum*, according to the progress of trade, and the legitimate wants of the merchants.

The new site, it was further stipulated, should be placed at the disposal of the Representatives of the five Treaty Powers, — to be allotted on some equitable principle, in view of the *present* and *future* wants of foreigners, who might desire to settle at this port for trade. This done, I promised that the holdings in the old site should be ascertained and regularised, — and a legal title being given by competent Japanese authority, and the rental fixed, — payment of arrears should follow. And thus at the end of two years only, was it possible to correct the evils induced by the first irregular proceedings; — or protect the original squatters from the effects of their own acts, — in support of which they had invested large sums on land, and without obtaining a shadow of legal title.

The Consul, at a much later period, convened a public meeting for the purpose of hearing any grievances the merchants might have against either the Japanese or their own authorities, and gave a very plain résumé of the whole subject, in the following extract from his speech, reviewing the several complaints, and challenging denial or dissent if his facts were incorrect. But no single word was offered, either in the way of refutation or comment.

'We come now to the occupation of land, in which the committee speak of 'unaccountable,' and what has appeared to many, 'vexatious,' delays, in obtaining build-

ing sites. Yet nothing admits of more easy explanation. I need hardly remind you that when the port was first opened, it was a question between the Japanese authorities and the Foreign Representatives, which side of the bay offered the most eligible site for the permanent objects of trade. The British and American Ministers both saw cogent reasons for preferring Kanagawa, in a permanent point of view; while the majority of merchants, arriving by ones and twos, seemed to find greater advantage, in view of immediate facilities, on the Yokohama side, where the Japanese desired to fix them, and had gone to great expense with that object. Both may have been right from these separate points of view—the Ministers looking to national and permanent interests, the merchants to what was individual and temporary. That is a question which need not be discussed now, and it is not in fact before the meeting. But as there has been no little misconception (I do not wish to use any harder word) as to the real facts, and the action of Her Majesty's authorities, it may not perhaps be without advantage to all if I offer a few words of explanation in respect to the past, as tending to clear the way to a good understanding for the future.

'We will not discuss who was right or wrong, or whether anything better could have been done at first, than to leave the question to be decided by events, the progress of the settlement being left to itself, in a great degree. It is no very grave reproach to those who have only temporary interests at stake, to charge them with preferring these to any future permanent advantages. So neither is it a very legitimate subject of reproach to Consul or Ministers, who by office are the representatives of interests that are national and permanent, if they should keep these constantly in view, as the more important, whatever may be the pressure of that which is individual and fleeting, and follow the line of duty thus indicated without fear, or seeking after popularity. Of course, the two classes of interests cannot always be very perfectly reconciled to each other; and this will lead to a conflict

of interests and opinions. But in such a contingency you have at least the satisfaction of knowing that neither the Consul nor Minister can have any personal interests to consult; they neither trade nor deal in land. And it is going very far a-field for adverse motives, to attribute to either, petty feelings of spite and ill-will, because British subjects may have thought their own views the best, and acted upon them to the best of their power.'

A résumé of the whole subject will be found in the Report of a public meeting convened by the Consul,* if any one should feel sufficient interest in the subject to turn to it for all the facts.

In order not to return to the subject myself, I have greatly anticipated time. But we must go back to the first day of my arrival and landing at Yokohama, where more diplomatic troubles were in store. I went on shore as soon as the 'Sampson' had cast anchor, and it was impossible not to be struck with the admirable and costly structures of granite which the Japanese had so rapidly raised, in a large broad pier running far into the bay, and a long flight of steps, at which twenty boats might land their passengers, or cargoes, at the same time. Immediately in front was a large official-looking building, which was pointed out as the custom-house, and thither we proceeded to find some of the officials and an interpreter. The gate gave entrance into a courtyard, paved with stones from the beach, and round the four sides were ranges of offices — some evidently still in the carpenters' hands. Everywhere there were signs of a rush having been made to get into some sort of occupation and preparedness by July 1, the day fixed by our treaty for the opening of the port. In one of the large apartments we found two grave-looking officials seated on their heels 'at the receipt of customs,' with scales and weights and a glittering heap of new coins; — the currency of Japan we were told, ready to be exchanged, 'according to treaty,' for dollars. Immediately several of the party, eager to be possessed of

* Appendix A., Vol. I.

a currency as they were preparing to visit the shops, threw their dollars into the empty scale, and obtained for each, — two fine looking coins, 'weight for weight' most religiously exact, as stipulated in the treaty regulations! The Government seemed to have exceeded all expectation in their preparations, with an eagerness and a completeness, that was calculated to disarm the most suspicious nature! After some conversation with two of the Governors of Foreign Affairs, as to a location for the Consul on the opposite side of the bay, which they declared *could not be given*, we turned down the main street, and here witnessed a scene which could hardly have been enacted anywhere except in Russia, where whole villages appeared as if by magic at the mandate of Potemkin, to greet the Empress Catharine in her progress through her dominions, with evidence of a flourishing and populous empire, where ten days before there was only a desert. Here, out of a marsh by the edge of a deserted bay, a wave of the conjuror's wand had created a considerable and bustling settlement of Japanese merchants. A large wide street was bordered on both sides with handsome well-built houses of timber and mud walls — but the occupants had evidently only that very morning been precipitated in — their goods were still for the greater part unpacked; while frantic efforts were being made by servants and porters, in a state of deliquescence, to make some sort of show of the saleable contents.

Partly to encourage such devotion to our interests, and with some of the eagerness which children of the largest growth are not quite exempted from feeling,—to spend money already in the pocket for that purpose, various articles were priced by some of the juniors. And nothing could seem more reasonable! 'Six itziboos for that charming glove-box; what can be cheaper! Three itziboos to the dollar — why that is only two dollars! Here my friend, here is your price without haggling,—two dollars.'

A suspicious look, and a shake of the head with averted palm, created a momentary pause; until it was

suggested that, as at Nagasaki, they could only receive Japanese money. 'Ah! all right, here it is, bright and fresh from the mint, two for the dollar; therefore two of them — what do they call them again?—two of them must be equal to three itziboos—one and a half each—aye, that is the calculation. Now, my friend, open your palm — there it is, four of these large bright coins: I wish I could remember their name!' But the palm turned them over, and again the head shook, but this time four fingers were held up three times in rapid succession. 'Why, what does he mean? He asked six itziboos, which I have given, and now he wants twelve! What an extortionate Jew!' This evidently required the aid of language and an Interpreter,—and with such help the explanation was as easy as it was unsatisfactory. Each of the bright coins were, indeed, the *weight* of one and a half itziboos, but they bore the mint mark and value of *half an itziboo*! There it was, clear enough, '*ni-shi*,'—half. Oh, what a fall was there! Had the bright silver been turned into the shrivelled leaves of the sorcerer, they could not have been looked upon with more profound disgust and surprise. There were no purchases made that morning. One of the party, who had been the most eager, ruefully remarking, 'the things are remarkably pretty,—but to clip the dollar of two-thirds of its value will make them rather dear to the holders of that coin.'

And this was the second great diplomatic struggle into which I felt myself thrust before noon on July 1. Not content with fixing a site by anticipation, to suit their own purpose, they had also cleverly prepared a currency, keeping what seemed the promise to the ear, but breaking it to the heart. The letter of the treaty might be there, but assuredly not the spirit, seeing that the dollar, thus ingeniously depressed from three itziboos, its equivalent value by weight when the treaty was signed, to one—bid fair to make Japan, supposed to be one of the cheapest countries in the world, the very dearest. Unless imports could be sold at the same rate, it was quite clear no

exports could be purchased. There have not been wanting Europeans (chiefly visitors), and some among the Dutch residents, I think,—who have contended that the Japanese were right in considering the itziboo as a mere 'bank token,' having a money value far above its real worth, as so much silver,—and that to hold them to the exact terms of the American and subsequent treaties, bound to give weight for weight of *the then existing silver coins*, for European coins,—was to inflict upon them a wrong and a loss. But without going into the different theories of a currency, it seemed to me then, as it does still, that there was a ready means of testing the truth or fallacy of the Japanese argument. Their silver currency might be, and was, no doubt, ill adjusted, in regard to the relative value of gold and copper in Europe. And now that trading relations with the West were being established, it might be essential that some readjustment should take place, with special reference to the relative current value of the three metals in European countries. Their gold was much too low, and so also was their copper, compared with the silver,—since an ounce and a third of silver (or four itziboos) were worth a gold cobang, valued in Europe by our standard at 18*s.*, or between 3 and 4 oz., and the same amount of silver in Japan would purchase 4,800 copper cash; whereas, even in China, a Mexican dollar (about an ounce in weight) would not buy more than from 1,000 to 1,200. To leave their currency without modification, therefore, was simply to ensure the sudden export of all their gold and copper in exchange for European silver. No wonder the Japanese looked upon such a contingency with great anxiety and alarm; and I suggested to them at once an effective remedy, by altering the relative mint value of their gold and silver coinage, increasing the value of the former from four itziboos to twelve or thirteen, bringing it sufficiently close to the average rates in Europe to secure them from any operations for the export of gold. Unfortunately, I think, they hesitated, insisting upon altering the mint

value of their silver by depreciating it two-thirds in relation to the copper coin — not to prevent the export of the latter, but to increase the price to foreigners of all Japanese produce. At least, this would obviously be the immediate effect. Their fixed idea was, that all Japanese produce and manufactures could be bought vastly below their true value, if the ounce of silver, in the shape of a dollar, was allowed to circulate as the equivalent of three itziboos, corresponding in weight. I endeavoured to convince them, by reference to the market prices in the chief trading marts of Asia, from Constantinople to Pekin, that, except in the one article of copper (and gold as it then stood), the ounce of silver, even when converted into three itziboos, would not *purchase more of the commonest articles of consumption or of labour* than elsewhere; and, consequently, that to depreciate the silver currency in regard to the copper currency, by which all produce was sold, or its market value estimated,—could only have the effect of shutting out the foreigner from their market altogether, except in so far as he could deal by way of barter, exchanging European goods against Japanese. If a dollar, (or an ounce of silver,) would buy so many pounds of rice in India, Siam, or China, and so many days' labour,—the prices of both being perfectly well known,—subject to little fluctuation in ordinary times, and always easily ascertainable; — while in Japan, only one-third the quantity could be purchased with it, — no argument could be needed to prove that any but a barter trade would be impossible; and that the itziboo did not, as they held, *represent a fictitious value, in the produce market*, rendering it worth more, by two-thirds, than the same weight of silver over the length and breadth of Asia. It would certainly buy more copper and more gold — but not more food or labour. Ultimately, as will be seen, they altered their gold coinage to the European standard, but too late to prevent large exportations and much mischief. They protected their copper currency by withdrawing it, and circulating iron cash instead; but to

this day they seek to carry out their original plan of altering the silver coinage, the direct and certain effect of which, it would seem,—must be to close the Japanese markets to all foreign dealers, save to the extent in which they can exchange *goods*, not *silver*, for native produce. Is not this the effect contemplated and desired? This seems only too probable. Sooner or later, silver being depreciated in value to the extent of some seventy-five per cent, a self-adjusting process might bring the Japanese dealer to regard his silk and tea as worth so much *gold* instead of silver, and the former might thus restore the balance. The gold cobang piece being worth the same amount of cash in Japan, and of silver—could be *by treaty* claimed from the Japanese in exchange for European gold coins, weight for weight; and in this way gold instead of silver might be imported and supply the means of purchase to the foreign trader. But assuming the state of exchange would admit such an operation, the Japanese Government are not bound—except in payment of *duties*—to receive our gold weight for weight, and they profess inability to compel their subjects. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the first effects of the change, still contemplated by the Japanese Government, would be to put a sudden stop to all Foreign trade,—since it would have the effect of raising the price to foreigners of all native produce, from fifty to seventy per cent.

Dissatisfied with the location, which I yet foresaw it would be difficult or impossible to change;—refused a place of residence in Kanagawa for a consular officer, where of right it could be claimed for both consuls and merchants (as they were compelled to admit later); menaced with a depreciation of the dollar to two-thirds of its value by a juggle, much too cleverly conceived in reference to the wording of the treaty, and too effectually set on foot to be easily set aside; I returned to Yeddo with no pleasant anticipations of my first diplomatic passes with the Japanese Government; taking back with me the

Vice-consul I had purposed installing at the newly-opened port. A residence was speedily obtained at Kanagawa, (though declared impossible three days before), but no sooner was it granted than I had to combat a pretension of the Japanese Government to close the road between us, and deny all right to travel between the Legations and Consulates, on the high road.

My American colleague and I had thus for a beginning three as troublesome and harassing questions as could well have been desired for a diplomatic agent. A disputed site for a foreign settlement, after the native government had expended large sums upon one, and merchants were on the spot, urgent for land and instant accommodation; — a currency question which struck at the root of all trade; — and, finally, an attempt to dispute a right of road between the capital and the port, even to the members of the Legations. I should scarcely have entered upon my troubles at this outset of the Mission in Japan, were it not that a narrative of my residence in the Capital would be very imperfect, — and only calculated to give a false impression of the people we have to deal with, — if such incidents were omitted. Indeed, any record of such a residence, without reference to these ever-recurring struggles between the Minister, whose business it is to insist upon the observance of treaties, — and the Japanese rulers whose peculiar pleasure and duty it seemed to be, to render them nugatory and void in effect, — would be the Moor of Venice without Othello. Even in looking back, with the pleasant remembrance of difficulties overcome, of doubts resolved, and of dangers escaped, — there still lingers a weary sense of the trouble that preyed upon the soul, — and the pain and anxiety of a position in which everything had to be won by hard fighting, or defended with a determined front and wary eye. All this too, where a false step, or an error in judgement, might be as fatal to the diplomatist as to a traveller climbing up a steep acclivity, with a measureless

depth below him—down which he may be suddenly precipitated, without power to arrest his descent, or any hope of ever obtaining a foothold lost.

I do not think I slept very soundly that night. I know I rose the next morning very tired, and proceeded to land all my goods, chattels, and belongings, and instal myself, with a feeling of utter weariness at the task I saw looming before me;—of the true nature and extent of which I had from the first a tolerably clear conception.

CHAPTER VII.

EXCHANGE OF RATIFICATIONS — NEWS OF THE REPULSE AT THE PEIHO — HERMIT LIFE IN YEDDO — CONDITIONS OF EXILE AND ISOLATION — LIFE IN A WILDERNESS OF MEN AND WOMEN.

ON Wednesday, July 6, 1859, I landed officially, and the British flag for the first time was unfurled in evidence of a permanent Legation in the Capital of the Tycoon.

While still in the midst of the confusion incident to installation at a new post in an Eastern land, it was necessary to pay an official visit to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, who, in Japan, are of course in *dual* form; the one apparently to speak, and the other to observe. They are each of them Daimios; and the first, *Manake Simoosano Kami*, was also at this time President of the *Gorogio*, or great Council of State, consisting of five members of the Daimio class,—and corresponding, in a great degree, to our Cabinet, in whom the executive power seems vested. The second was *Waisaka Nakatsukano Faya*, also a member of the Council, and it was at his official residence the interview took place. From Tozengee the distance was little less than five miles, and although a July sun in Japan, with the thermometer standing at ninety degrees in the shade, is not to be regarded with levity, I had taken so great a dislike to the cramped space afforded by the ordinary Norimon, that I determined to go on horseback. And a long and sultry ride we found it. The Yamaské of Waisaka was in the heart of the official quarter, and within the circle of the second moat. Our reception was very formal, and the

visit being strictly official and one of ceremony, no discussion was entered into, or business transacted, beyond fixing the day, and settling the preliminaries, for the exchange of ratifications;—which, to my great relief, I found they were quite disposed to expedite, instead of raising difficulties for purposes of delay. It is true my congratulatory feeling was somewhat premature, for nearly the whole intervening period of seven days was taken up in discussing with the Governors of Foreign Affairs* the mode in which the deed was to be accomplished;—and at the end a serious misunderstanding arose about the day originally fixed. Even after this, when the cortége was on the very point of starting, an objection was raised to the guard of honour, which it had been previously settled should accompany and surround the canopied platform on which the treaty was carried. 'Boast not of day till night has made it thine!' is good advice everywhere; but in Japan, of all countries, it is well to remember it, and not be over sanguine!

It really seemed as if some Nemesis of retribution was on my track, to make me pay for my easy victory in establishing a right of residence, where I certainly had anticipated the first and greatest difficulty would be experienced. I was allowed no time, however, for vain boasting, or any presumption founded on a first success; and, although it was a sore trial while it lasted,—I have since been disposed to be thankful that thus early, in a new field, where everything had to be learned—as to the feelings, motives, and policy of those with whom it was necessary to establish relations of startling novelty,—and where novelty itself was a sufficient condemnation,—I had to struggle through almost every form of difficulty that could be conceived. It certainly impressed upon me, from the beginning, the necessity of untiring patience and forbearance, without which I soon saw nothing could be effected.

* These officers may be considered as Under-Secretaries of State, and have somewhat similar functions.

That these preliminary discussions about mere matters of form, when the *thing* was secured, were tiresome to the last degree, and often seemed interminable, will easily be understood. Each night, after another day had been consumed in discussions which settled nothing, I felt the lesson sink deeper, that the first virtue of a diplomatist in Japan must be *patience*!

A very slight sketch of the progress made from day to day will show how much this one virtue was tried. When the official interview with the ministers took place, the order of proceeding had been discussed. I was the bearer of one of the two copies of the treaty made in English, Dutch, and Japanese — each signed by Lord Elgin and the Japanese plenipotentiaries — to which the sign manual and the great seal were attached; and my instructions were to receive back the other copy left with the Japanese, bearing the original signatures and seals of the plenipotentiaries; the Tycoon's ratification and seal being in like manner attached.

Unfortunately, it seemed the Tycoon's ratification had already been obtained (so at least they said) to a copy 'more beautifully written, and elaborately bound,' and it was '*impossible* any change could be made!' The Tycoon's seal could neither be attached a second time, nor shifted to the original copy. A long demur to this arrangement led to an offer on their part to surrender the original,— *as well as the copy* bearing the Tycoon's ratification; and to this I consented, with some reluctance. In view of the apparent impossibility of carrying out my instructions to the letter, it only behoved me to secure the essential part, which was the Tycoon's ratification to the treaty — and for this a correct and attested copy was, to all intents and purposes, the same as one bearing the signatures of the plenipotentiaries.

Next day it turned out that the copy to be offered was only a copy of the *Japanese version*, which neither I, nor any one attached to me, could read. This I peremptorily refused, saying, 'the treaty' consisted of three versions in

their integrity, and not one only; but if any one was more essential than the rest, it was the Dutch, which both could read.

While this was yet undecided, another night passed, and then, late on the Sunday evening, came Moriyama and one of the Governors of Foreign Affairs, in a state of great trepidation to all appearance. 'There was an unfortunate mistake in the day appointed for the exchange. Moriyama, the interpreter, had rendered it Monday; all the preparations had been made, the Council of State and Tycoon himself informed; and the disgrace of Moriyama, and his dismissal, would be the least consequence *if he had to avow his mistake.*' 'What,' I said, 'if we took it upon ourselves, as an error in the interpretation, and exonerated him?' 'Useless, quite — it would then be said that Moriyama had induced you to write to that effect merely to screen himself,—and his position would be worse than ever!'

What was to be done? Was all this merely simulated (if so, he and the Governor were both excellent actors), and was there some hidden object to be gained — some intrigue being played off against us? I was now offered the ratification of the Tycoon *to the original treaty* (so lately declared 'impossible'). What was the real motive of this sudden willingness to give themselves the lie — and desperate effort to alter all the arrangements, and hurry me through the ratifications the *next morning*, instead of Tuesday, the day fixed, and, beyond doubt, clearly understood? Was there some sinister intention of palming off upon me at last a mere Japanese copy; or hustling me through the exchange, with the omission of some essential formality on their part? It was hard to say; but enough appeared to rouse suspicion, and I declared, in the most unmistakeable terms, that I would neither undertake to make any change, nor even to keep the appointment on *Tuesday*, unless I received, *in writing*, a formal declaration, from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, that I should have the original treaty, bearing the seals

and signatures of the plenipotentiaries; and attached to it the ratification of the Tycoon, with his seal, and the signatures of the two ministers. A new difficulty this. It was late — the distances considerable, rendering it impossible, before an early hour in the morning, to get such written communication from the ministers to me — too late to make the preliminary arrangements for landing the 'Sampson's' marines, &c. 'Why would not the verbal assurance do?' 'Too many mistakes already,' I replied; 'arrived at the minister's, I might learn that one more had been made '*by the interpreters*,' and that the Tycoon's ratification, in due form, was not attached to the original treaty—when I should be compelled to return with the originals, bearing the Queen's signature, without effecting the exchange — and I did not choose to risk being placed in such a position.' 'Would the written declaration of the Chief Governor of Foreign Affairs answer the purpose?' (No such official, by-the-bye, existed, as I afterwards knew.) 'Yes — if I received it during the night; and in that case I would consent to the exchange taking place the following day — and, in anticipation of its arrival, write at once to Captain Hand, to make the necessary arrangements.

At one o'clock came the formal written assurance. The next morning, July 11, a bright and scorching sun gave sure promise of a trying day. The distance to the official residence of the minister, I now learned, was four miles by Japanese measure. The treaty was to be carried in procession before me through the city, under a canopy ornamented with flags and evergreens, surrounded by a guard of marines, and followed by fifty blüejackets. Captain Hand, with a large number of his officers in uniform and on horseback, followed immediately after the four petty officers carrying the treaty. Just an hour before starting, the officer who had to conduct us came to declare, *the guard could not enter the official quarter*!—It was too late to make any change without damage. They had had four days' notice, and no objection had been

taken. This was their answer therefore. But the sudden announcement left room for anxiety and suspicion.

The long line of march of this procession, through the wide streets of Yeddo, was a novel sight for the inhabitants of the capital — one such as had never been seen before. A treaty with a Foreign Power carried in state, preceded by the flag of Great Britain, surrounded by a guard of honour, and followed by a large escort of mounted officers, with the Representative of the Queen at the head, were novelties indeed. On through the populous commercial quarter we took our way, across the first broad moat (an anxious moment for the two chiefs of the civil and naval branches), unstopped by gate, portcullis, or guard; — right on into the first fortified enceinte of the official quarter. The outer crowd of shopkeepers and industrial classes now left behind, a new crowd of retainers of the various feudal princes, whose palaces lay on either side of the route, supplied their place, keeping the road with long batons. Slowly the cortége passed on to the second moat, wider and deeper than the first, and more resembling a river than an artificial moat. The gates of the second enceinte are before us; but they too turn slowly, as if half reluctant, on their massive hinges (shut expressly to be opened for our passage, as I afterwards knew, for I often saw, with my own eyes, that they remained habitually open), and at last the minister's residence is gained. It lies to the left of a broad glacis, in front of the last fortified enclosure standing on a higher level, where the palace of the Tycoon and the royal domain is seen. The guard formed outside; and, opening their ranks, the treaty was carried in by the bearers under its canopy, followed by myself, the officers of the Mission, and of H.M.S. 'Sampson.' The full powers of the respective plenipotentiaries having been produced, and the other formalities accomplished, by comparing the two Dutch versions; — signals, arranged by the Japanese in advance, (by fans from street to street,) conveyed the news to the 'Sampson,' with telegraphic

speed, in a minute and a half, a distance of six miles. A royal salute of twenty-one guns, the British and Japanese flags at the main, celebrated the exchange of ratifications, and the happy conclusion of the day's ceremony, which had been preceded by so much difficulty, and so many thorny discussions. The Japanese had been invited to fire a salute also, but they urged the inconvenience of departing from their own customs, &c., and it was not pressed. They found no impossibility later, however, in firing such a salute, under the pressure of a sufficient object. Well it was, perhaps, for the interests at stake, and my position in Yeddo, that no time had been lost;—for only a few days later news arrived of the disaster at the Peiho, and there is no telling whether this might not have disposed them to devise causes of indefinite delay.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, H.M.S. 'Sampson' took her departure, and for many weeks —months, no English pendant appeared in Japanese waters. While the first weeks were slipping on, I fairly lost count of the days, and got up one morning thinking it was Friday, until some better-informed member of the establishment proved it was only Wednesday. Really it seemed as if we should have to adopt Robinson Crusoe's notable device of notching a stick, to enable us to keep count of the days, in this wilderness of men and women, and total isolation from all of European race or civilisation — where no Sunday worship or Sabbath-day bells recurred regularly every week, to mark the end of one, and the beginning of another. In striking contradiction this, by the way, to the broad assertions of some of the Sabbatarian writers, that a septennial division of time has prevailed all over the earth, and that traces of it at least, may be found in every country. It is strange how this often reiterated allegation, so palpably in contradiction with known facts, could ever be made,—or relied upon as an argument. All over Asia, this division into weeks is, I believe, utterly unknown to this day,— as it is in Japan.

Through all antiquity, in Europe and Western Asia,—in Egypt, Greece, and Rome, it was only known — if known at all—as a custom of *the Jews*. Neither Greeks nor Romans adopted it in their mode of reckoning time. And when a new world was discovered by Columbus, no trace of the supposed universal weekly measurement of time was discovered. Neither the Red Indian and hunting nomades of North America,—nor the people of the more civilised empires of the Mexicans and Peruvians,—had any cognisance of the 'universally known' seventh day,—whether as one of particular sanctity, or as marking a fourth part of a lunar month. It is difficult not to doubt the goodness of a cause, when its advocates keep reiterating the universality of a fact which has no existence. But how gladly one would hear the weekly church-bell, calling to service in this place of exile, instead of the early matins of the Pagan Bonzes, announced at five o'clock by the deep tones of a magnificent bell, struck by a suspended beam from the outside;—and the long muttered orisons which follow every day with little cessation for many hours, and again at five in the evening,—with a perseverance and regularity worthy of a better cause!

Such total absence of all external differences, between one day and another, had a constant tendency to blur out distinctions. In the hermit-like seclusion of Tozengee, the same bright sun above our heads from day to day, and a thick screen of wooded hills further shutting out the world beyond—the Pagan world in which destiny had flung a little knot of Christians; and with it the world of a kindred creed and race,—from which the whole breadth of Asia on the one side, and of the Pacific Ocean on the other, separated us—it was hard to realise any distinction of days, weeks, or months! The seasons alone brought their own distinctive marks with them. In one, perhaps the truest sense, all days were Sundays here—days of solitary reflection, mingled with comparatively few secular affairs, or interruptions

from the outer world. Nature, in glorious robes of beauty, was ever inviting to contemplation, and that worship of the heart which springs from a constant sense of the Divine in creation, and the all-pervading presence of a Supreme Ruler—governing and fashioning to wise, but often inscrutable ends, the world of mind and matter. In the broad avenues, chequered with light and shade, and richly coloured with every variety of tint, there was a temple which nothing reared by man's hands by aid of stone and mortar could rival. No fretted roof, or long-drawn aisle of a thousand pillars, could approach it in beauty. A recluse there, need envy no worshipper in Dom or Minster, so far as grace, or richness of colour and material forms, are concerned;—the communion of kindred hearts in prayer and worship was alone wanting.

A strange feeling of isolation came upon me when the confusion and novelty both had ceased. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, as already stated, H.M.S. 'Sampson' had taken her departure, and left Her Majesty's Mission to take care of itself. The American frigate which had brought my colleague, the Resident Minister of the United States, had hastened to follow the example. We were thus left, the Representatives of two great Powers, perfectly isolated and unsupported in the capital of the Tycoon;—surrounded by many hostile elements and unknown conditions, without the pendant of a single gunboat in the Japanese waters, or within six weeks' or two months' call! Whatever might be the difficulties or the dangers of such a position,—they must be met single-handed and alone. I felt as though the dial had gone back fourteen years with me, for in just such a position had I been dropped, with less experience to guide me, at Foochou, the capital of the province of Fokien, in the year 1844. It seems not a very wise or politic mode of proceeding, but I never knew it otherwise. I never knew an Admiral, or a senior officer, I think, who did not seem to consider the first duty of the Commander of a ship of war, after dropping a

Minister or a Consul in the midst of a semi-civilised population,—as a man drops an awkward burden,—was to disappear as fast as possible, and leave him to his destiny, or his own resources. No doubt it is quite impossible even for the British navy to supply a ship *en permanence* wherever there is a Legation or a Consulate, with interests to defend and lives to protect. And there will always be more demands on an Admiral in the far East than he has the means, whatever may be his inclination, adequately to meet. Still there is much to regret, and something I think to amend, in the practice of dropping diplomatic or consular agents in the most remote regions, and then leaving them to take care of themselves as they best can, or to be sacrificed in the attempt,—before it can possibly be known either what are the conditions under which the duties are to be carried on, or the dangers and difficulties to be encountered. It may well happen that the very objects for which the nation incurs the expense and liabilities attaching to the establishment of new Legations or Consular ports in the far East, may be sacrificed and utterly lost by such a system of abandonment.

I sat musing one day, under the deep shadow of the avenue, looking across the bay, flecked only with white-sailed fishing-boats,—and there came before me a vision of the exile's life reserved for me. Shut out from the whole world of interests that bind man to this existence, and mingle with all his thoughts and affections,—even with those which wing their way to that far eternity whither all are hastening, more or less consciously,—I saw weeks pass on without any tidings from beyond the seas. When last we had heard, Austria and France were both in arms, and the French Emperor had taken the field at the head of his army in Italy. What had happened in the interval? Kingdoms might have been conquered, or shaken to their centre; — and, in the conflict and din of arms, dynasties as well as nations might have fallen. But of all that *might* have been we knew nothing,—no more than if our

habitation were in another planet! When a mail and newspapers, with letters and despatches, tardily arrived,—it was as if the cloud and vapours which surround a traveller lost on some high mountain range were suddenly rent asunder, displaying a moving world of life and action at his feet,—where before all was stillness and solitude. It was to waken from a long trance, and then only, to hear all that had been said and done in the interval of total unconsciousness, however nearly it may have concerned him. In a word, it was to receive a page torn out of the history of the world, a fragment telling of changes of empire and destinies — changes of all things, great and small, which make up the sum of national and individual life, that had happened in some distant period,—while all knowledge was denied of events taking place in the interval, and filling up the space between the two. In these days of rapid and certain communication,—of railway travelling, and electric telegraphs, — there is something especially tantalising and trying in this forced ignorance of all that is — this dwelling on a *past* which always seems remote, and never can be linked on to the *present.*

There are days when, in spite of some active occupation and study, one feels that to take office in a country so isolated from the rest of the world, and so distant,—is to descend alive into a sepulchre of the dead. Human beings there are about you—there is no stint as to their number — but the touch of sympathy which makes 'the whole world kin' is wanting. As a man never feels more alone than when the sense of loneliness comes upon him in a crowd,—so in this wilderness of living men, the foreigner is too entirely a stranger, and too absolutely repudiated as having anything in common with the natives, to feel otherwise than banished, and exiled from all social intercourse. There is no interchange of ideas, no intellectual exercise; no common language,— and the traditional policy of exclusion and isolation still prevailing, renders all these — impossibilities.

The little intercourse foreigners can hold for the first years in a country like Japan, while labouring to acquire the colloquial language, must be through some half-dozen interpreters, who have acquired a more or less imperfect knowledge of Dutch. The hostility of the Daimios and governing powers will long continue to suscitate acts of violence; and ever recurring occasions of petty annoyance or impertinence — with a systematic plan of extortion and enormous lying, by all the officials who surround the foreign missions, and the tradesmen they allow to approach. Soon after we were domiciled, I came to the conclusion that this must be a cheap country. We succeeded in getting evidences of this, without its availing much to save our pockets. A picul of fine rice (130 lbs.) could be bought for a dollar and a half; six or eight fowls for the same price. Fish, on the other hand, was unaccountably dear, although the large bay is always covered with fishing-boats. It is true, the population may be great in proportion, but the fact cannot account for the extravagant prices we were made to pay. Of the systematic extortion to which we were subjected, indeed, each day brought some new evidence.

The first month was gliding silently away, when one day I determined to penetrate into the great commercial centre of the city, where they had several times assaulted foreigners, and Lord Elgin himself had been pelted;—in order to be able to judge, and, if need be, to speak from personal observation. As the distance was great, and the weather hot, I sent word to the Japanese officers on service in the morning, to procure a good boat, with four or six rowers; and to accompany me, that the inhabitants might see a foreigner's right to go there unmolested, was incontestable. When the hour came, and it was too late to make other arrangements, I found an open boat with no seat or awning, exposed to the blaze of the sun, and two rowers only, one a miserable old man of sixty or seventy. This was either a piece of deliberate impertinence, to punish me for objecting to their extortionate practices, or

an official manœuvre to deter me from going at all. On my sharply remonstrating, they uttered only a few nonchalant excuses, which were palpable lies: such as that 'no covered boat came out of the river,' though we met several within an hour. I did not choose, however, to forego the expedition, and so we proceeded. Great crowds met us on landing, and followed us with a boisterous sort of hilarity—nothing really offensive, or hostile in appearance, however. Once only a piece of dried mud was thrown, as we were standing outside a shop. In passing under the bridges, we saw they were packed with a dense mass of people. They offered no insult, but there was a good deal of shouting and hooting,—which was certainly not intended to be either respectful or complimentary. We went into some of the shops, and bought some lacquer ware — after some bargaining, though the greater part was cheap enough. So that mere material, and labour too, *must* be cheap. It was the venality of the Officials and Compradors about us that alone made things dear. One instance among a thousand may suffice as an example of the wholesale plundering to which we were exposed —by authority. I had ordered a wash-hand-stand of common wood, for which the Comprador had the modesty to charge nine itziboos. I cut it down to five, which he protested against most vehemently; and soon after, I found that one of my attachés had got a better one made for *three*!

Another day I was trying horses, and two or three, likely animals enough, were brought. I chose a bay, about fourteen hands, rising six years, with a good head, neck, and fore quarters; but rather falling off behind, and with hoofs somewhat contracted for the size of the animal. A walk, an amble, and a canter I got out of him, but nothing deserving the name of a trot. As I have said, it being considered vulgar, in Japan, to put your horse out of a walking pace, their animals are never lunged, or taught to step out. They are all entire horses; there are no geldings, and the mares seem only kept for breeding.

I gave thirty-five kobangs, about 10*l.*—not an exorbitant price in itself—but to a Japanese it would certainly have been one half less; and, indeed, a cob pony, of the same character, could be purchased in many parts of England for that sum. My groom, however, a fine stalwart man, who belonged formerly to a Governor of Simoda, was very urgent in his recommendation to buy, impatient to be installed in his vocation—and possibly had his own interest in the bargain;—but as he seemed an able-bodied serviceable fellow, and had moreover been taught by the Americans how to shoe a horse, instead of the device of muffling their feet in straw-slippers—I closed the bargain, as much to secure the man as the horse. A Japanese stable, built under his superintendence, presented some striking features of contrast with ours. In the first place, the horse's head was where his tail would be in an English stable,—that is, facing the entrance. It certainly seems a much more rational thing, to be able to go up to your horse's head, when he has an opportunity of recognising you, rather than to his heels, with a preliminary chance of a kick and a broken leg. Then they have no fixed mangers, but hang their food from the roof in a bucket. When not eating, however, their head is often tied up rather above the level of the neck, without any freedom or power of moving from right to left, merely to keep them quiet, which is great cruelty, and all to save a lazy groom the trouble of cleaning them if they lie down.

And so flitted and passed away the first month of our residence in Yeddo.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE — FIRST LESSONS IN GRAMMAR AND SPEAKING.

OUR want of all knowledge of the Japanese language was the first great barrier to any satisfactory progress in our relations with the country; and as two young student interpreters had been attached to the Mission, my first care was to set them to work; and to see if I myself could aid, by spelling out something as to the construction of the language. With the aid of the Japanese official attached to the Legation as an Interpreter, who I found had some smattering of Dutch grammar, I began without loss of time.

I probably should have hesitated, had I foreseen all the labour it would entail, even to produce the most elementary work; but patience and perseverance will overcome many difficulties, and so it was finished, and printed at last. I preserved some notes of my earlier efforts, when, in the mornings, we were all collected round the table, and our unfortunate teacher in the midst (with a Yakonin and an Ometski in the background, to see we hatched no treason against the State), bewildered and sore distraught, under a searching cross-fire of questions for equivalents to English parts of speech. A quiet much-enduring man was *Matabé*; but he sometimes used to put his head on one side, while his fingers sought in vain to stimulate the brain beneath, to furnish the required ideas by gentle and continual friction over the shaven crown,— and look the very picture of bewilderment and misery!

No general reader will ever look at the grammar, with its mixture of fact and speculation, which was the final

result of this long torture, renewed day after day for eighteen months. And yet there is much to interest even the most casual student, in the characteristics of every language; and as the Japanese has been hitherto a sealed book to Europeans, I will try to give some account of the sort of discoveries wrung out of poor Matabé on these long summer mornings,—and any other victims I succeeded in getting under the same harrows. Many of these were interesting, as throwing some reflected light on the habits of thought and action of the race by whom it was framed, and the people to whose daily wants it had been moulded.

If books are the transcripts of national taste, as has been not unaptly said, much more may a language be considered a true mirror of the national character. Of especial interest are the questions involved in the use of a borrowed hieroglyphic language in Japan, and the spontaneous adoption at a later period of a phonetic system, without the latter displacing the former. The Japanese are the only nation, as I observed in the preface to the grammar, who, so far as is known, ever frankly adopted as their own, and at one effort, a language and a literature, together with a whole system of morals and ethics, from a neighbouring people (in many respects essentially different), without any pressure from conquest;—and while in possession of a civilisation of rival pretensions, a marked nationality, and a strongly developed spirit of independence. Yet such seems to have been the fact beyond a doubt. Although the relations of China with Japan have often been hostile, and no approach to fusion has ever taken place between the two nations, the Japanese did adopt, at some distant period, now unknown, the system of writing of the Chinese. And although the Japanese invented for themselves long subsequently a system of phonetic symbols, consisting of a syllabary, or alphabet of forty-seven letters, which, with the addition of certain accents, suffices to convey all the sounds in the language — and notwithstanding it has been in general

use now some eight centuries, they have not relinquished the hieroglyphic written language adopted from the Chinese. So the two languages and systems of writing exist side by side to this day.

Indeed, they seem fond of duplicates in all things. Something of a dual principle we know enters into man's organisation and pervades all nature, but in the Japanese idiosyncrasy this seems to find a more elaborate developement than elsewhere. If it be true, as a learned physician has maintained,* that we all have two perfect brains enclosed in our skulls, as we have two eyes and two ears on the outside; each capable of performing all the functions of both combined,—and even capable of carrying on independent trains of thought simultaneously;—it would seem the Japanese duality of brains has been productive of all sorts of binary combinations and devices running through and duplicating as it were, all existence, political, social, and intellectual. There is no dealing with a single agent in Japan—from the sovereign to the postman, they all run in couples. You ask for your interpreter, and finding him long in coming, you demand the reason, and receive for conclusive answer, that 'He could not come without his shadow!' If the objection strikes you as singular or novel, it is explained that his shadow is an '*ometsky*,' literally, the 'eye that sees through'—in plain English, a spy, without whom it is not safe for him to enter on the performance of his functions; for the 'ometsky' is supposed to be a witness to the loyalty of his action.

We may take as a farther illustration of the peculiarities of Japanese character, the grammatical fact that their nouns have no genders. Neither have the Japanese, properly speaking, any definite article.

The absence of genders to their nouns; and of personal pronouns, to express any difference between he, she, and it, noticeable in their grammar, seems to be carried

* Dr. Wigan on the Duality of the Brain.

into practice oddly enough in their custom of public baths for both sexes; and in their daily life in other ways. Whether so strange a reversal of all our ideas of propriety is attended in Japan with any of the consequences that would unavoidably attach in Europe to such habits, we are not yet, perhaps, sufficiently conversant with the people, or their social life, to say with confidence. What we do know, certainly does not justify our jumping to a condemnatory conclusion. It is very difficult to form an opinion of the morality of one people by reference to the manners and standard of another. The Turks think it a reproach for women to be seen out of their harems; and even the lower classes regard the unveiling of the face as a shameless and indecent act, associating with it corresponding ideas of immorality. Singularly enough, we seem to have some traces of this conception in our own vernacular, by the term '*barefaced*,' when we wish to express a similar reproach of shamelessness. An Arab woman wears a single vest open to the waist, but carefully shrouds her face from view. The Chinese, on the other side of Asia, expose the face without reserve, and paint it too, to be admired; but are scrupulous in covering the neck as high as the throat; while they very certainly regard the low dress of European ladies, their dancing in public with their male acquaintances, and indeed our whole system of dress and social intercourse;—as the most shocking departure from all the rules of propriety and decency which the imagination of man or woman could invent!

Reverting to their grammar, we find in respect to the personal pronouns another interesting fact, namely, that, although not wholly wanting, they are rarely used. Nouns, with various significations of honour or self-abasement, almost invariably supply their place. Thus in practice, if not in theory, they hardly exist. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that there is a bewildering variety in the modes of expressing the important word *I* in Japanese, and scarcely less for all the other persons.

Thou, and *he*, and *she*, with their plurals, consequently become formidable entities, requiring careful approach and long study. I gave a table of six or seven forms for each, as the lowest number for the student to begin with;—warning all comers, at the same time, that there are still many additional forms to be acquired, and that no more grievous solecism in manners can be committed among the Japanese, than wrongly to apply either the terms of due humility in the speaker designating himself, or of honour to the person addressed; each variation in rank, age, and sex, demanding the use of some different form of speech! This is rather startling intelligence to beginners; but if such be the fact, it is better to know the whole truth at once, than to go blundering on in the dark. Thus, to take an example of the ingenuity exercised by the Japanese in the invention of terms of honour or abasement which supply the place of personal pronouns — for the most part pure circumlocutions and paraphrases to avoid a personal appellative or designating pronoun — we find one of the terms for *I*, speaking humbly as to a superior, is *Témaié*, literally, 'the person who is before your hand.' *Watakooshi*, another term for *I* — means, literally, 'something private,' an egoism, something pertaining to the *I*. Again, *Anatta*, '*Thou*,' is a word literally signifying 'your side.' So, in speaking of ladies or women, *onago domo* may be used correctly, to designate those of a man's own household, but if applied to any other, the expression would be a gross affront — *domo* being the plural adjunct, implying humility and relative lowness of rank, while *onago*, the term for a lady or female, is not sufficiently honorific to be used in speaking of others. Both have consequently to be changed; the affix *gata* must then be used for the plural, and *Jochou* for the noun; whereas among women and children, and speaking of each other, the terminal would be *tatsi*, or *tatchi*, and then the phrase might run *Onago tatchi*, or *Jochou-gata*, and if it was meant to designate young ladies, *Musoomé tatchi*.

We see in all this, first, a strange proneness to self-abasement, a certain absence of individualism and self-assertion, which, on the other hand, is very much opposed to some of their national characteristics. A Japanese is proud of his race and nation, stands much on his personal dignity, and is very sensitive to any indignity or affront put upon him by the neglect or refusal to render all that custom and etiquette prescribe. That they should be a ceremonious and punctilious people follows as a matter of course,—for just in proportion as they are conscious of sensitiveness on these points, is their scrupulousness in avoiding any provocation or ground of offence to others. Indeed, to such a pitch do they carry this, that no equestrian statue is permitted,—so at least they say themselves, —because it would wound the dignity of any one entitled to marks of respect to pass in the street, or to meet in a house, *a person riding, even in bronze, while the other was on foot!* Thus none but officers, and not all these, are allowed to ride; and if a Daimio (or Prince) is met, they must dismount until he passes. Nor are these unimportant distinctions, for they have much to do with the hostility of all the ruling classes to foreigners passing along their roads and streets, especially on horseback;—because, in the first place, it is, according to Japanese etiquette, an assumption of superiority, and in the next place, no Daimio, however high, can compel a foreigner to dismount and do him obeisance. Hence they tried to close the road to foreigners between Yeddo and the port of Kanagawa, and various unpleasant rencontres have taken place, when members of the different Legations have had to pass a Japanese noble with a retinue* of retainers. Indeed, in the history of the

* There can be no doubt that one, and not the least important or influential, of the many causes of hostility in the privileged classes, lies here. The lowly obeisance of the unprivileged (consisting of all the mass of the population) is at once flattering to their pride and essential to their supremacy. Whatever calls either the one or the other in question must be not only a strong incitement to hostile feeling, but a source of danger; for the public demonstration of independence in the foreigner, aims a fatal blow at both. The Japanese merchant or shopkeeper who bends his head to the dust when a two-sworded official passes, rises with a feeling of shame and

edicts expelling all foreigners and exterminating all Christian converts in the seventeenth century, one of the first provocations is said to have arisen from such an incident,—a Portuguese Bishop meeting a high officer of the Tycoon, and 'not rendering the usual obeisance,'—in other words, getting out of the Norimon and on his knees bowing his head to the dust! This is often quoted as an evidence of the pride and arrogance of the priests, but very absurdly.

It is evident, therefore, that there is a great fund of pretension at the bottom of all these periphrases of self-abasement, which seem only so punctiliously adhered to, that each may be sure in turn of having the like rendered back to him with interest, in terms of honour and exaltation when addressed by others. It is a common observation that the most punctilious and ceremonious people—nations or individuals—are also the proudest and most tenacious of rank and observance in their own case. So, although grammarians may find difficulty in disinterring and separating from these euphuisms and circumlocutions distinctive personal pronouns—yet I hesitate to join in the conclusion, somewhat rashly drawn perhaps, that there is no individual liberty among the Japanese, and that their laws,—and the mixed feudal and despotic nature of their government, imperatively require the utter renunciation of all individuality and rights attaching to it. Something of this may be true, without by any means justifying the more sweeping deduction.

The spoken language, except in these particulars, and in the complicated construction of their verbs, presents no serious difficulties to the learner. In pronunciation, *none*, in comparison with the Chinese; for the system of intonation, in eight modulations, any one of which may entirely

self-abasement in the presence of a foreigner who is exempt. Pride, privileges, and political power, are all involved, therefore, in this question, which, at first sight, appears only one of puerile form or etiquette. Only recently a fatal rencontre has taken place on the high road between Kanagawa and the capital, in which one of a party of English taking a ride was killed by the followers of some Daimio whose cortége they were passing on horseback. And it may truly be said that no such cortége is ever met by Foreigners without danger to life.

alter the sense, is unknown in Japan. Nor are there any guttural or difficult sounds, if we except the semi-liquid sound given to the *r*; neither *l* nor *r*, but something between both. The Malay has sometimes been described as the Italian of the East; but the Japanese, with all its soft and liquid sounds, has still better pretensions to be so considered.

But once we come to the written language, the difficulties accumulate. They have three modes or systems of writing. The first consists in the use of the Chinese characters, the second and third in the two alphabets known as the Katagana and the Hiragana. But this goes a very little way towards exhausting the subject. The Japanese have, unfortunately for European students, many different methods of writing the Chinese characters, and worse still, a habit of mingling *all the different modes in the same page.* Thus to begin with the Chinese, or rather the nearest approach they make to it, there are three modes of writing even the *square character.* The first is called the Kaisho (*kai* 'care') style, and is only commonly used in poetry and printed books. The second, the Giosho (*gio* 'action' or 'going out'), is the style of official letters and despatches. The third or Sosho (*so* 'grass' or 'herb') is for familiar correspondence between equals. The differences are not so great, but that the character in each may *generally* be deciphered without much difficulty by any one very familiar with the first; although the difference, in the Sosho, is *sometimes* so essential as to make them altogether unrecognisable. Nor has it been found possible to ascertain any rules by which these interpolations of different systems are made. Sometimes, especially if foreign proper names are expressed, the Katagana characters are used. This is easily understood, as it is an attempt simply to convey the pronunciation of the foreign word. But as if to accumulate perplexities and baffle beginners, a farther habit prevails of using the ideographic characters in a sentence, sometimes according to

the meaning or idea to be conveyed, and at others merely as phonetic signs. Lastly, although they have adopted the whole Chinese collection of characters, and learned to attach to each the ideas belonging to them in China, the construction of sentences is often so completely different according to the genius of the Japanese language, that it is difficult for a Chinese to read a book written by Japanese in the Chinese character, so as fully to understand every sentence; nor can the Japanese read Chinese books, although the contrary has been very confidently asserted. This is not to assert that no Japanese ever acquires the power of reading Chinese works; but simply that he can only have done so by a special study of Chinese with that view, which appears to be far from common; and not naturally as the result of his habitually employing the Chinese character in writing Japanese. *All* Chinese is not unintelligible to Japanese, and vice versâ. The common signboards are readable by both, when the Chinese character is used; so are many simple phrases. Some among their learned read the Chinese Classics, the four Books, &c., as they are written; but copies are prepared for more general use, in which the necessary transpositions are made, and it becomes a translation rather than the original work.

With these observations it will be clear that only those who have ample leisure, with years before them, can hope to obtain any mastery of the *written* language of the Japanese, in its Chinese form. Even with great application and peculiar aptitude, it must necessarily be a very laborious undertaking; a more arduous task even than acquiring the original Chinese; for in China there is no mixture of styles of writing ever admitted into printed works, and very rarely any deviation from the stereotyped forms in official correspondence. Still less are the characters used, sometimes for sound and sometimes for ideas;—although here and there, as every Chinese student knows, a character is occasionally introduced, especially at the end of a sentence, merely for euphony. The

cursive writing of the Chinese is, indeed, a puzzling style; and it is doubtful if any European has ever mastered it*; but neither is it very essential, since it is never employed in official documents or printed works. These remarks, however, as to the difficulty of the task, neither apply to the spoken language, nor to the two phonetic systems of writing. Each of these seem fairly attainable, by the same amount of diligence which would be required for the acquisition of European languages. As to the writing in these two modes, by the use of the Katagana and Hiragana characters, no more seems necessary than the knowledge of two alphabets; the one perfectly easy and simple, consisting of forty-seven letters only, not difficult to write, and as clear and invariable as the Roman letters; while the Hiragana (with all its varieties of form, and farther mutations, by the characters being connected and run into each other so as to form words) does not really present many more combinations than the German and Gothic texts and our own current styles, which a few days or weeks' study renders familiar. It is not more than the learning of the two hundred and fourteen Chinese radicals, or alphabet of that language, which is only the first initiatory step! To anyone who has ever contemplated the study of the Chinese language, the task of acquiring Japanese with two comparatively simple systems of phonetic characters, will seem very light; and he will be disposed to regard the result without fear or misgiving.

That there are differences of style and of idiom between the written and the spoken language, is undoubted, in this as in every other language, and there are varieties of style according to the subject; but this does not constitute *three dialects*, still less so many languages.

* Some few of our best linguists, who began the study of Chinese at a very early age, may decipher or even write it, more or less imperfectly; but I have never seen any of them get through the task with ease: on the contrary, it seems open to the same objection as Jeffrey's hand, which he declared to be 'very easy writing'—'Yes,' answered his correspondent, 'but it is d—— hard reading!'

Rodriguez, in referring to the curious inversion of order, which exists in the Japanese construction of sentences compared with the Chinese, seems more at home than in the construction of the verbs, and brings out the contrast very clearly; although it may be early for any European student to pronounce an independent opinion as to its correctness. In Chinese, he says, a sentence ordinarily begins with a participle, signifying opposition if there be any, then the negatives, and afterwards those terms which mark the tense and mood; the verb follows, and, last of all, the word governed. The Japanese adopt in their language a reversed order; the case governed by the verb comes first; then the verb followed by the indications of mood and tense, and the parts marking opposition or negation; and thus the sentence finishes where the Chinese begins. When the Japanese translate Chinese into their own literature, therefore, all the parts of a sentence require often to be completely transposed, the translator passing from one to another in search of what generally comes last, that he may place it first; the better to convey, from the beginning, the purport of each phrase.

Such were my first impressions of this rather intricate question; but after two years' study, and a visit from Mr. Medhurst, H.M.'s Consul at Shanghai, whose knowledge of the Chinese language is both large and practical, some new light was thrown on the whole subject. Extracts from a very interesting letter, which at my desire he wrote for the information of H.M.'s Government, will be found in the appendix.* I will merely here remark therefore, that it was clear our student interpreters were at such great disadvantage in attempting to master Japanese writing *without a previous knowledge of the Chinese character and written language*, that I determined at once on recommending a change in the course of study for those newly arriving; and urged that they should henceforth remain the first two years in China, and *begin* with the Chinese.

* See Note C, Appendix.

Whatever time might thus be lost in the beginning, as regarded the more special knowledge of the Japanese, written and oral, would be richly compensated by the certainty and rapidity of their progress on arriving in Japan, after this preliminary course, with a power of readily deciphering the various combinations of the Chinese character in common use among the Japanese.

I found, in walking along the road or through the streets with Mr. Medhurst, that the usual notices, shop-boards, &c., were all perfectly intelligible to him, simply from his knowledge of Chinese, and the identity (in many cases) both of the character and idiom used, or from the close analogy existing. The tea and saké shops are all scribbled over with the words, in Chinese character, signifying 'Royal tea,' 'Royal wine,' 'Royal resting-place;' the term Royal evidently intended to describe superiority or excellence. So of fruit shops it was 'Royal fruit,'—a great misapplication of terms as regards this last article I protest,—and with no closer adherence to truth than advertisements usually exhibit. But often the very terms used in China for 'fresh fruit' are employed, which may be more veracious. So the prices are indicated by Chinese numerals. 'Drugs are distinguished, as in China, by a more flaming and elaborate sign than usual,' Mr. Medhurst remarks, and are described by the same characters as in China. Advertisements by quacks of life pills are identical. So the notice seen everywhere in China answering to ours of 'commit no nuisance,' he found here worded in the same peculiar phraseology which the celestials have adopted. Public bathing places have two doors, side by side, with the notices 'men's baths' and 'women's baths,' as in China; though, unlike China, the distinction is disregarded and quite superfluous, as soon as the doors are passed. Over roadway gates and entrances to enclosures which are public or imperial property, and over particular bridges, he observed the same characters which in China hint 'the necessity of dismounting from chair or horse whilst

treading sacred ground.' He even observed, one day, in the main street of Yeddo, a plank stuck up by the workmen in front of a portion of road under repair, with a notice in Chinese 'to pass by on the other side.' These furnished such an amount of cumulative evidence of the use of genuine Chinese, even among the less educated, as to prove conclusively the main point, namely, the *familiar use of the Chinese written language in common life.* But the farther we proceeded in this enquiry, the more plentiful were the proofs. 'In books, maps, pictures, and printed publications of all kinds,' Mr. Medhurst reports, 'the use of Chinese is quite as decided and remarkable.' Chinese prefaces are common in the books; and the titles or headings not only of the books, but of any illustrations they contain, are invariably in Chinese. The outer covers of maps seem always to be superscribed in Chinese, and every town in the kingdom appears to have a distinct Chinese name, and it would seem, as in China, applied in reference to the site or some other association connected with it, the Japanese *sound* of the character having in some cases the same meaning as the characters themselves possess. 'Yeddo,' as it is written by the Japanese, is 'River Door;' 'Yokohama,' 'Cross Shore.' The highway between the two towns, 'East Sea Road;' 'Fusiyama,' 'Rich Scholar Peak;' and so on. Pictures which the Japanese seem peculiarly partial to, and they are to be met with of every description and price, have generally Chinese titles attached. The envelopes of official letters from the Japanese authorities, to the Legation, are all superscribed with the Minister's title in Chinese, with the single exception of the translation for 'Plenipotentiary,' a term introduced originally by Mr. Morrison, our first Chinese Secretary in China, but since discarded for one more correctly rendering the title. It may readily be conceived with how much interest I pursued the subject, by the aid of Mr. Medhurst's large and familiar knowledge of the Chinese language. Japanese boys, we ascertained, 'begin first by learning the Chinese characters, on

which other phonetic letters are founded; and, in doing so, not only accustom themselves to the sight of the rest of the Chinese repertory, more or less, but acquire the habit of writing them with such rapidity and facility, that eventually they learn to excel even the Chinese, in their ability to reduce the characters from the square to the cursive style.' All this tended to prove beyond question the expediency, if not the necessity, of *commencing with Chinese as the foundation.* The whole document will be found full of interest, and well to repay perusal, by anyone concerned in tracing the curious analogy and connection existing between the two languages.

Among the characteristic peculiarities of the language, is the minute distinction and classification of different forms of numerals, according to the object. There is first a cardinal series of general application, and then the ordinals, which are divided into nearly as many series as there are classes of objects. There is one class for all animals,— except the flying and swimming species, and insects. Another for birds, in which, however, hares and rabbits are included! A third for ships, and junks, and boats; a fourth for liquids drunk with a glass, as water, wine, tea, &c.; a fifth for things having *length*, as trees, pens, sticks, masts, beams, radishes, carrots, fingers, brooms, pipes, &c., and so on *ad infinitum*; for after enumerating examples of fourteen different kinds or series of numerals, I gave it up in despair, foreseeing that they would fill a volume by themselves. But this is a fair illustration of the eminently straw-splitting character of the Japanese, which may be traced through all their laws, institutions, and habits of thought. When later, I was collecting objects for the Great Exhibition, the Japanese Government asked me to suggest something *they* could contribute. Not wishing to involve them in expense, — for which I was sure they were not prepared,—and with little time to spare before the things must be shipped, I proposed specimens of all the different kinds of paper in common use. The next week I

received a large box, in which were arranged no less than sixty-seven different kinds, with a description of their uses, carried out with such elaborate minuteness of distinctions, and total absence of all reserve, delicacy, or refinement, as to the details entered into regarding the uses to which each should be applied,— that I was compelled to revise the whole carefully, before it was fit for publication,— and to exercise a large discretion, in the way of omission.

If the reader can fancy this microscopic spirit of analysis and division applied to the verbs in the construction of their language, my despair may be conceived when, as a mere tyro and a foreigner, I came to the task of unravelling their intricacies, and digging deep beneath the surface, overlaid with distinctions, for the simple elements and the roots. Many times I was more than half disposed to give up the undertaking in utter hopelessness of ever seeing my way to any useful end. As for Matabé, I feel some compunctious twinges of conscience, on looking back at the long hours of torture I subjected him to in the effort — utterly vain and futile — to extract or pound out of him, reckless of the cudgelling his brain required, any grammatical element it might contain, transposed into the Dutch forms. I sometimes wonder how he bore it, or did not sink under the process. But I suspect, that after a certain amount of suffering each day,— having been endowed with a Japanese suppleness of nature, and conscience,— he simply gave over thinking at all, and let me pursue my own vagaries as I might, assenting to everything, — just as an unhappy victim on the rack reaches a point when all his powers of endurance or resistance give way, and he re-echoes whatever his tormentors may choose to dictate or suggest! I began to understand how the demon of persecution may have taken possession of good and pious men in olden times, and converted them into fell and heartless inquisitors; — or how the absorbed artist struck a dagger into his unfortunate model, who was tied on a

cross to represent the crucifixion,—because he failed to yield the required expression of agony in his face!

Poor Matabé! He was very proud, nevertheless, when all was finished, to see his name, in large print, as having lent important aid; but it is very certain that without the more efficient assistance of the Abbé Girard, a French missionary, who had spent many years in the Loochoo Islands, studying the language, I should never have accomplished the verbs. I do not know how many times they were recast, obliterated, corrected, and re-written! I believe we all felt it to be a subject of hearty congratulation when the word *finis* was written, and the last sheet was despatched to the printer. I leave it a legacy to those who now are students,—and to my successors in the Mission, to correct all errors, enlarge and improve it; for all of which, I am convinced, there must be great room.*

* A second edition has since been prepared for the press under much more favourable circumstances, in which many errors and omissions have been rectified, and a great deal of new matter is added in the form of idiomatic dialogues and examples.

CHAPTER IX.

JAPANESE SAYINGS AND DOINGS.*

A BOOK, entitled 'Two Journeys to Japan,' was about this time sent to me from England. I, who was only gleaning painfully and with difficulty here and there, as fortune might aid me, a few stray ears of corn amidst a great deal of chaff floating about, read with something of envious amazement the startling incidents and strange adventures of this doubly experienced predecessor in the same field. It seemed to me almost doubtful, at first, whether this fortunate spectator and actor of marvels had ever been in Japan — bodily that is, and not in imagination only. If so, I felt I ought to lay down the pen in despair, for I had not even a hope of having anything half so wonderful to narrate, were my residence in Japan to be prolonged a hundred years — which Heaven forbid! Pork and tough fowls for meat, and rice for vegetables, eggs for milk (butter and milk being both unknown luxuries here), with an occasional pigeon for *entremet*, may support life even under the barbarous handling of a Japanese or Chinese cook — twin brothers in capacity and instinct; but I am satisfied there must be

* The pages forming the chief portions of this chapter were suggested in part by a work on Japan which appeared soon after I took up my residence in the country, entitled — 'Two Journeys to Japan, by the author of the New Eldorado,' in which the writer recounts such marvellous adventures as can seldom have fallen to the lot of Paladin or Traveller since the days of Mendez Pinto. My observations on things Japanese, passing daily under my eyes at the time, very different in kind, found their way into the columns of a leading journal, and as they seemed to be read with interest at the time, and embody much I should desire to find place in a more permanent work, I have reproduced them here, with such modifications only as fuller knowledge naturally prompted, to prevent erroneous impressions being conveyed.

a limit somewhere in sanitary conditions. The total deprivation of beef and mutton must in time be a serious detriment to the English constitution. Eastern climates, and long exile from all home associations, we are brought up to look upon, as the natural incidents of people cribbed in a small insular territory, with unbounded dependencies beyond the seas. And it is astonishing with what philosophy we submit to the inexorable necessity which drives so many thousands annually from the parents' nest; and how well we bear up under the loss of friends and relations, and all the deprivations of social and intellectual intercourse! But have my readers ever realised what it is for months or years never to taste *beef* or *mutton*? If not, I can tell them the most robust philosophy quails under such a prospect—and I am sure the 'natural' term of a man's life, occasionally so unfeelingly dwelt upon, when a prisoner is told he shall be eternally banished to some Norfolk Island or Botany Bay, can never be a long one in Japan for any descendants of the Saxon! Consequently—for that is the true moral of my reflections—it is improbable that I shall ever live long enough to see a tithe of the funny, strange, and alarming things—which seem to have greeted the author's eye wherever he turned. Happy—thrice happy traveller, with a book to publish! I only hope he has not altogether spoiled the British public for the plain narrative of such every-day matters as come under the observation of common mortals, seeking clear insight into the character and institutions of a people so exceptionally situated as the Japanese. Their long insulation, it is true, even prior to the great maritime discoveries of the sixteenth century which first carried Europeans to their shores, but more especially since the seventeenth, when every one of the anathematised races of foreigners were either exterminated or expelled, save only the Dutch, and the Chinese, at Nagasaki;—has had the effect of placing a whole nation in a condition to show the developement of a civilisation, *sui generis*, uninfluenced for the most part by any knowledge of the progress

being made throughout the world by contemporaneous races and nations. But it is something like a geological survey of a country — here and there the underlying strata have cropped up and may be noted on the surface, or a land-slip may reveal to the casual observer some of the formations; but more frequently the leading points of interest, giving the key to the whole, are only to be obtained by conscientious labour, carrying the inquirer down through all the superincumbent layers. So, in the study of national character and institutions, or a phase of civilisation,— some indications lie on the surface which afford valuable *indicia* to what lies beneath; but they are also very apt to mislead the merely superficial explorer. What I give now, therefore, I give for as much as it may be worth, with a distinct reservation for all 'errors and omissions.'

I propose for the present to give only a few traits of Japanese character or customs, as these have come under my own observation, with reference to the travellers' stories already before the public, — and Japanese records professing to relate with circumstantial accuracy the more remarkable events and incidents of the last few reigns. Some of these Mr. Titsingh, long a resident at Nagasaki as former chief of the Dutch factory, with laudable diligence collected under the title of 'Memoires et Anecdotes sous la Dynastie Régnante des Djogouns Souverains du Japan,' and much therein is calculated to throw light upon the habits of thought and action which prevail at the present time in this land of — earthquakes!— Excuse the interruption, but until one gets used to such things— as I suppose everybody does in time — the smart shock of an earthquake — has a decidedly disturbing effect, bodily and mental!

I have not now to make my first acquaintance with these visitors from the cauldrons beneath, yet I cannot say familiarity has produced either of the two proverbial results — affection or contempt. As Slender confusedly says of sweet Anne Page, — 'I feel that there was no

great love in the beginning;'—and it has certainly pleased Heaven to 'decrease it upon better acquaintance.'

In truth no familiarity can make one like them; for there is this peculiar aggravation attending volcanic operations and their eldest progeny, Earthquakes,—that while the solid earth, — associated in the mind with all faith in the stability of things sublunary, — vibrates and heaves under your feet, it is impossible to form any conception or the remotest guess—when it will cease, how far it will go,— or when and how often it will recommence? The state of doubt and suspense into which one is unavoidably thrown, is, perhaps, the least agreeable of the accompaniments of earthquakes. But the resident in Japan must needs be resigned to this also, for they occur with such frequency,—the ever-smoking and heaving volcanoes being in full blast throughout the land,—that the normal state of the country, physically considered, may be described as one of chronic convulsion—the quiescent state being an exception—a mere intermittence in this tertian or quartan ague fit, that takes the four corners of a house and shakes it as a strong man shakes a puny foe, before he flings him to the earth, crushed and mangled! We had one or two in every week after my arrival, not violent enough to throw houses down, but quite sufficiently smart and long in duration to wake anyone out of the soundest sleep — with a perfectly indescribable sense of insecurity. For the most frightful earthquake and volcanic eruption on record in Japan, it is to be remembered, began by many preliminary shocks of no great intensity, in this same district of Yeddo, in 1783, and seems to have exceeded in its horrors and wide destruction the earthquake of Lisbon at the other end of the chain. The accounts state that at eight o'clock on the morning of July 27 of that year, a great wind got up, accompanied by subterranean mutterings of thunder, which continued augmenting from day to day, in seeming menace of some frightful catastrophe, until August 1. On that day an earthquake, with loud thunders, shook all the houses to

their foundations, the intensity of the shocks each moment increasing until the summit of the mountain was rent open, and fire and flame appeared, followed by such an avalanche of sand and stones, tossed high into the air, and carried to incredible distances, that the darkness of night came on; — the only light being the lurid glare of burning lava and devastating flames. Vast chasms opened before the affrighted inhabitants in their flight; into which thousands, in the darkness and panic, urged on by the streams of fire and showers of stone and ashes, are said to have been precipitated. The shocks did not entirely cease until the twelfth day, and were felt over a space of thirty leagues. Twenty-seven towns and villages were destroyed; the rivers, boiling and overflowing, inundated the whole country, to complete the work of destruction. I think it must be admitted that there is enough in this account, drawn from Japanese sources and the accounts of eyewitnesses, to make men 'not to the manner born,' feel anything but reconciled to the daily chance of a repetition,— especially as the same volcanic centre has given, as late as 1854, a signal proof of undiminished vigour. At Simoda, only lower down in the bay, there was at that time such a violent commotion of both earth and sea that the whole town was reduced to ruins, and large portions were swallowed up by the sea in the back sweep of three huge waves, which in succession rose over the highest trees, leaving the bay nearly empty. Large junks and boats were flung some distance inland, and the Russian frigate, 'Diana,' which had escaped Admiral Stirling the year before, now escaped a far greater danger almost miraculously. She is described as spinning round and round at her anchors, the men being thrown down, and many of the guns shot across the decks, killing and wounding the crew; until she was left all but a total wreck. The harbour was scoured out to its granite foundations, and has never since afforded good holding ground for ships to anchor in.

So one evening, when the air was sultry and a sobbing

wind swept suddenly through the pine trees with menace of a storm, an uneasy feeling seemed to take possession of every one. And when the lightning and the rain followed quick, with something altogether peculiar in the roll of thunder—a long, even, monotonous peal, neither seeming to approach nor recede, neither *diminuendo*, nor *crescendo* to a final crash, but ceasing just as it began—the first thought in every mind was, I am sure, 'An earthquake!' However, no shock was felt, so the dinner continued uninterrupted. But some time after, with just such a storm, and with a deluge of rain, we had the severest shock I have yet felt. Some men were thrown down,—others rushed at a bound from the house into the open space, regardless of rain; while every pillar and beam creaked and shook. The whole house and earth beneath appeared to sway to and fro horizontally;—seized with a violent shivering fit, which, if it had only lasted another minute, I think, would have become contagious.

The Japanese, it was said, found the magnet lose its power during an earthquake, if not some time before. If this were true it would have been a curious fact, and one well worthy of farther investigation. With a good horseshoe magnet suspended, and a gong or a copper basin beneath, one might improvise an earthquake alarum, and if it only gave a few seconds' notice, it might at least save people from being buried beneath the ruins of their own houses. In a scientific point of view, however, independent of any immediate practical application, it was an object of interest. But a little inquiry and experiment seemed to dissipate all hopes of a valuable discovery. The truth appeared to be that the American Minister had read, in some of the veracious correspondence from Japan which appeared in the New York papers, a round assertion that such a fact was well known to the Japanese. And these, on being referred to, with the characteristic vanity and mendacity of Yaconins, had no scruple in

appropriating the honour thus thrust upon their country of a great scientific discovery.*

But let us turn to other matters; for, spite of earthquakes and sudden burial under ruins, or slow roasting by the spread of fires while pinioned to the earth, fire being almost the sure sequent of a shock strong enough to throw houses down—there is eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, in Yeddo, 'as in the days that were before the flood,' and just as continuously and joyously as though Japan had its foundations immovably fixed in the centre of the earth,—instead of on these treacherous and shifting ribs of granite which case a mighty sea of molten lava and fire!

I received about this time a letter full of inquiries about Japan—its climate, productions, people, &c., suggested mainly, it would appear, by a compilation of a Mr. Andrew Steinmetz, giving in a popular form the gleanings from Kœmpfer, Thunberg, and later residents or travellers. I could not help being amused at the evidence these inquiries furnish of the absurd mixture of fact and supposition in nearly all that is attributed to the Japanese. My correspondent headed her sheet 'Facts asserted by Andrew Steinmetz, of the Middle Temple,' with a general query, 'Are any of these true?'—a doubt apparently having crossed her mind as soon as she had written the word '*facts*.' And she was right, for useful facts are hard to come by in a country like this, and very apt to be misinterpreted when obtained.

But to the facts. 'Fogs, and all sorts of rain, and bad weather abundant; cold winds from the mountains extreme; notwithstanding, a most healthy country to live in; air very salubrious; soil very fertile; fruits most delicious.'

We were near the end of August, and there had been, for

* Some investigations have recently taken place, on the supposition that a connection may be traced between the magnetic state of the earth or the atmosphere, and the shocks of earthquakes at any given spot.

the week or two preceding, something very like English autumn weather, the sun brighter and a little hotter—some 80° to 84° in the shade; the evenings generally cool and pleasant; but at frequent intervals a night or a day of heavy rain. Occasionally, however, when I awoke, there would be a loud roaring of wind among the forest trees and a deluge of falling rain, the two together making a very dismal sort of music, by no means conducive to cheerfulness, or to early rising. Beautiful breezy mornings, slightly overcast, often begin the day, which is then pretty sure to be succeeded by a rainy afternoon; but before the rain, nothing can be more delightful or more like a fine autumn morning in England. The sun during the hottest days of summer is very much less intense in its heat than on the neighbouring coast of China. The thermometer in the shade ranges from 70° to 85°, and averages 80° between the morning and the evening; while it is sometimes below 70° at night. This is a climate, therefore, that does not make mere existence a burden and all life an effort, as it often becomes both in India and China. As to 'its salubrity, freedom of the people from disease (especially skin diseases, on account of the sea-weed eaten), undoubted longevity,' and other 'facts' very confidently asserted, I should not have ventured, in those early days, to give a decided opinion. But longer experience makes me bold, and I have no hesitation in saying that they are, upon the whole, a cleanly people, wash often—*sans peur et sans reproche;* wear little clothing, live in houses open to the air, and look on wide and well-ventilated streets, where nothing offensive is allowed to rest. In all these things the Japanese have greatly the advantage over other Eastern races, and notably over the Chinese, whose streets are an abomination to any one possessing eyes to see, or a nose to smell with. All failed, however, to give them immunity from the devastating cholera, which the United States' frigate Mississippi is said, I believe correctly, to have brought over—a first fatal fruit of the treaty and their extended relations with foreigners! It swept many

thousands from their cities; they say 200,000 from Yeddo alone. And one cannot be surprised that in the minds of the people it was looked upon as associated with the strangers, and a visitation wholly due to their newly established relations. I hear, however, that it was *not* a first visitation, and that they had it in 1818; but as far as mere human agency was concerned, this later visitation might be traced to that source; and of course it did not tend to make either the treaties or the foreigners objects of popular favour. This might be one of the latent causes of dislike and distrust which we had to struggle against, with but doubtful success. Some officials very anxiously questioned me as to the mode in which cholera was propagated or transmitted from one country to another, what were the best medicines and means of stopping its ravages, &c. They evidently regarded the possibility of its reappearance with considerable alarm; and, indeed, not without reason, since by last accounts it was then already at Nagasaki, though not to a very great extent. These officials said the Japanese attributed its first appearance among them to the introduction last year of the water melons—also a gift of the Americans, though I should doubt both facts. Water melons, like potatoes, the first introduction of which has also been attributed to Commodore Perry, if not indigenous have at least been many generations in the country, and largely cultivated. Their inquiries, no doubt, had reference to our quarantine laws, the adoption of which they seemed to be contemplating.

But as to general conditions of salubrity Japan certainly appears to be greatly favoured. What its influence may be in regard to frequency of disease or longevity, I cannot say farther than this, that there is not the exemption from *skin* diseases which has been asserted. On the contrary, among the working classes, various forms of cutaneous eruptions are common,— perhaps to be accounted for by their habit of washing together in crowds. Every third man seems, for some cause or other, to have had the *moxa*

very frequently applied, leaving scars down the whole length of the spine. Itch, too, is a common malady—common to a distressing degree,—and inveterate beyond anything known in Europe! It is almost impossible to get a domestic servant free from this loathsome disease,—or keep him so. The truth is they wash their bodies often enough, but much less frequently their clothes,—and there is a vast deal too much of promiscuous herding and slopping together at the baths of all the lower orders, for much purity to come out of them, moral or physical. The love of dress being undeveloped in both sexes to a remarkable extent, there is of course abundant opportunity of observing the state of the skin. *En revanche*, if the men dispense with robe or trousers, whenever they are free to do as they choose, they seem to delight in ornament that has the double advantage of permanence and close fitting, without otherwise incommoding the wearer when once made to order. I have not been among the South Sea Islanders yet, or the New Zealanders, nor even made acquaintance with the Chippewa Indians;—but I can conceive nothing more elaborate in the way of tattooing than the specimens supplied by the male population of Japan. And really to see them in their habitual costume (*videlicet*, a girdle of the narrowest possible kind), the greater part of the body and limbs scrolled over with bright blue dragons, and lions and tigers, and figures of men and women, tattooed into their skins with the most artistic and elaborate ornamentation—'scantily dressed, but decently painted,'—as has been said of our own ancestors when Julius Cæsar first discovered them—it is impossible to deny that they look remarkably like a race of savages,—if not savages, in their war paint. The women seem content with the skin that nature gave them, in all its varying shades of olive, and sometimes scarcely a shade at all. I have seen many as fair as my own countrywomen, and with healthy blood mantling in their cheeks—that is, when fresh washed,—and before they have painted cheeks and lips, and powdered all the

face and neck with rice flower, until they look like painted Twelfth-night Queens done in pastry and white lead. When they have renewed the black varnish to the teeth, plucked out the last hair from their eyebrows, the Japanese matrons may certainly claim unrivalled pre-eminence in artificial ugliness over all their sex. Their mouths thus disfigured are like open sepulchres, and whether given to 'flatter with their tongues' I cannot undertake in this my novitiate to say, but they must have sirens' tongues, or a fifty-horse power of flattery—to make those red-varnished lips utter anything which could compensate man or child for so much artificial ugliness! Were it not for such perverse ingenuity in marring nature's fairest work, many among them might make some considerable pretensions to beauty — as several of the studies from nature scattered

FEMALE HEAD-DRESS

through these volumes will show. The type, as may be seen in the annexed portrait, is neither Malay nor Mongol; while the elaborate style of the hair is in itself a study, and displays a marvellous amount of feminine ingenuity. One might certainly search the world through without being able to match the womankind of Japan for such total abnegation of personal vanity. If this be a sacrifice

C. Wirgman, del.

Haghart, lith.

TEA HOUSE ATTENDANT.

offered on the shrine of conjugal fidelity, the motive is no doubt very laudable; but it leads to the inference, not altogether so complimentary, that either the men are more dangerous,—or the women more frail than elsewhere, since such extreme measures have been found necessary to secure the same results. Surely something less than the whole womanhood of Japan deliberately making itself hideous, might have sufficed to prove the absence of all wish or design to captivate admirers! For my part, I cannot help thinking the husbands pay rather dear for any protection or security it is supposed to bring,—since if no other man can find anything pleasing in a face so marred and disfigured, the husband must be just as badly off—if he has any sense of beauty in him. Perhaps custom and that 'deformed thief,' fashion, may have brought him to *like* it; but if so, where is the protection? If he can like it, so may others. Perverted tastes are infectious. Of course I shall be told—nay, I think I hear excellent and exemplary English matrons saying, with a certain monitory voice, 'That when the affections are engaged a loving husband sees only the mind and heart in the face, and loses the individual features; and as those are worthy of love and admiration, so is his indifference to the skin-deep beauty of the face—his love being something quite irrespective of such graces:—and, more than this, that, as a matter of experience, six months' married life serves to familiarise the ugliest faces, or efface the original impression of the fairest.' I have heard some such discourse in time past, in support of a theory—which, despite all my efforts, I never could cordially accept. But, less than ever could I have done so now, after a few weeks' residence in Japan, where I saw the principle carried out to its last frightful consequences, and with inexorable logic! Whatever man's sensuous perception of the beautiful may be—and some, at least, are very unfortunately endowed that way—he must of necessity, for the whole term of his (or her) existence, be condemned to take up his abode with wilful and

unmitigated ugliness in the face of his cherished partner!

Moreover, it does not seem to answer very perfectly the end proposed,—to judge by many very graphic and popular representations of conjugal differences and infidelities. They have not, it is true, so far as I know, yet arrived at such a pitch of civilisation as to require the assistance of a court answering to that presided over by Sir Cresswell Cresswell—unnecessary, perhaps, as they have adopted, if we may judge by the accompanying illustration, with polygamy and concubines, other parts of the Jewish Law, and write letters of divorce,—upon pro-

WRITING A LETTER OF DIVORCE

vocation. Here is a little conjugal scene—painted to the life by one of themselves, where man and wife are plainly at issue. The husband is rubbing the Indian ink which is to write a letter of divorce, and friends of each party are apparently seeking in vain to reconcile the couple,—the broken dishes in the foreground appearing symbolic of broken trust, and vows which are past restoring! Here again is another conjugal scene, where the lady has discovered her husband with a love letter of a most inconvenient length for concealment; and to all appearances

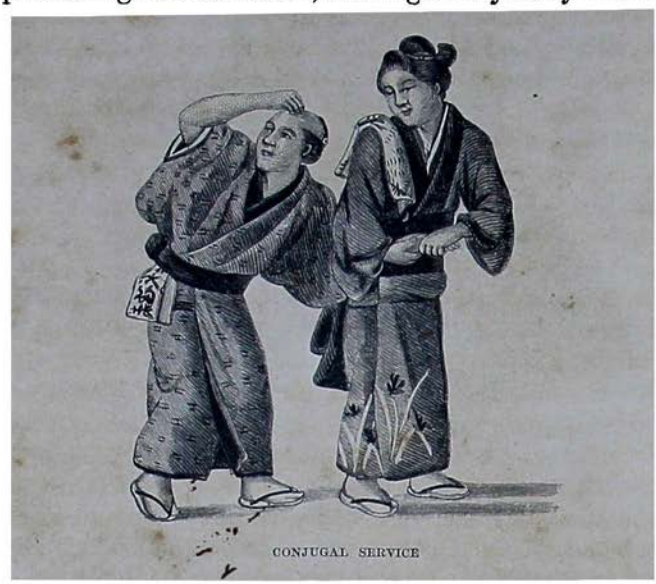
it is the wife who is taking the law against her husband, as sometimes in more civilised lands—taking it too into her own hands—and seeming to require no extraneous aiding whatever from judge or jury!

LOVE LETTER DISCOVERED

Granted, that constant intercourse and continued interchange of good offices do greatly soften to the eye outward deformities,—is it *very* wrong to wish that the Japanese women might be persuaded not to make themselves such frights,—dressed or undressed? Enlightened by what I see in Japan, I confess, however, I should, as a matter of taste, prefer and recommend the former,—as more advantageous to milliners, and (I hope I shall be forgiven) occasionally to the ladies themselves.

'The Japanese are perfectly ignorant of alcohol.' There may be a difference of opinion as to what constitutes alcohol, but '*Saki*' seems to me an excellent imitation; and, if it is meant that the Japanese are innocent of intoxication—a noisy, dangerous, and pugnacious intoxication, I am sorry truth compels me to say there never was an assertion of fact more signally refuted by practice. Here the gentler sex sometimes finds occasion to render

service which may well make amends to the erring husband, for something of jealous watchfulness over his aberrations in more sober moments; for see how lovingly and unreproachfully she is leading him home, when he is past taking care of himself, and might very easily come to



CONJUGAL SERVICE

grief if he met a two-sworded Samourai. From a road which ran behind the Legation, the noise of roistering blades, as soon as night had well set in, and the shouting of hoarse inebriate voices, left no room for doubt as to the state of the parties. The great road—the 'Tocado,' ran in front, and it furnished evidence enough at earlier hours,—only to be observed closely, however, at the chance of getting a sword thrust, or one's head cut open, as a part of the evidence.

'The Japanese are as perfect gentlemen as could be found in any part of the world.' As I have described them looking very like North American Indians in their war paint, and the resemblance is very close,—I am bound also to say, that when they see fit to dress themselves

like decent people elsewhere, there is a notable change in the whole man. Even the most elaborately tatooed, as he approaches you covered with a vest, with the lowly and not ungraceful bend forward of the whole body, and begs to know your wishes, displays a gentleness and winning courtesy in manner and expression — which 'John' or 'Jeames' would find it very difficult to approach, even in idea! Be it innate, or acquired, it sits perfectly easy upon

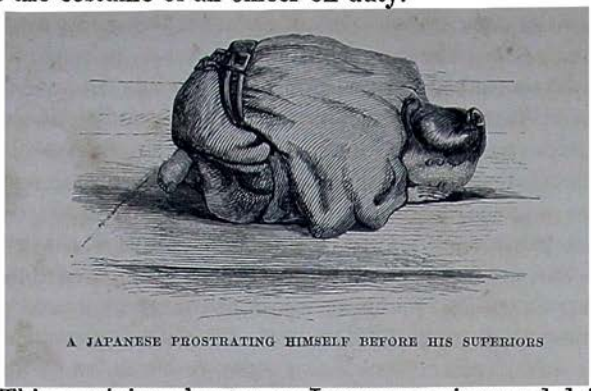
A JAPANESE SERVANT OR WORKMAN

him. And in the upper classes,—with the exception of officials, or Samourai, when they may feel licensed to be insolent and truculent to the foreigner,—there is in their perfect self-possession and self-command — their quiet demeanour, and the softened tones in which they seem habitually to speak, even to their inferiors and servants— a well-bred air which makes them look like gentlemen. Their partially shaven heads, the hair most scrupulously dressed and turned tight up over the back, in a truncated *queue* laid on the bare crown, their flowing gown and surcoat,—in summer consisting of delicate-coloured gauzes and silks, chiefly greys and lilacs, or fawn — the absence of hair about the face, and the bare throat — all help the general effect of men carefully got up, who not only respect themselves, but are well accustomed to respect from others. There is nothing, perhaps, more readily recognised at a glance than the difference of expression, gait, and general bearing in either man or woman — between those to whom

outward respect and deference are habitually shown, and those to whom such observances are new. Judged by outward marks, then, the educated Japanese is to all appearance—a gentleman. And if farther acquaintance suggests some reservations, more especially as regards conventionalities — there is still much to accept frankly. They understand the courtesies of life perfectly; and their observances of etiquette seem upon the whole less exaggerated and cumbrous than among their Chinese neighbours. They do not tell the truth, officially at all events, and do not particularly care that you should think they do, — it would almost seem; though, as all speech and asseverations become idle under an open and avowed disregard of truth, this can hardly be so in fact. But, at all events they are very callous as to the discovery of any former aberration, though anxious enough sometimes, that they should be believed at the moment. Then it takes long habit, before Europeans can bear the frequent and loud eructations, as evidence of a good meal,—without a strong mental protest. So, when a Japanese takes out of the loose fold of his vest a nice square of paper, and, applying it to his nose, carefully folds the envelope into his sleeve for a pocket, or gives it to his attendant to throw away — that is merely a conventional thing; and they may perhaps reasonably contend, that theirs is a more delicate proceeding than ours of carrying a handkerchief or 'nose cloth,' about the person for a day. Or again, the day being warm, when he brings out of the same recess a neatly buckled pouch of matting, and takes a swab cloth without hesitation or disguise,—not very white, to wipe the perspiration away, returning it carefully when the operation is perfected—it is not exactly as gentlemen or ladies do at home, but it is a difference only in form, for under the same circumstances the act in one way or other *must* be performed by both. But, at least, they are not an expectorating race: living in houses with clean matted floors one feels secure from that disgusting habit. There is also, upon the whole, so far as I have had opportunities

of observing, less of cringing servility in the inferior classes, lay and official, and much less official *hauteur* in the dealings of the higher with the lower classes, than the accounts in Commodore Perry's narrative had led us to expect. It is very true that Moriyama himself, the prince and paragon of interpreters, and an officer to boot (he particularly begged my secretary on one occasion so to style him, and not Interpreter), when he acts as interpreter in the official interviews with the high officers of State, comes barefooted to the vicinity of the Chief Minister, and sinks on his knees, or, when not actually speaking, rests on his heels by some ingenious process (still a great mystery to me), and there remains during the whole interview, however long it may be. If there are two or three Interpreters they all do the same, and a long row of mute attendants are ranged behind in the same attitude. Yet something of the servility of the attitude is lost in the profound air of deference expressed, and the urbane and gentle mode of address always employed by the chief. When Moriyama listens, his head is lowered nearly to the floor, with the hands prone and the eyes bent down; and so, when he has to interpret the answer, he commences by a similar lowly prostration — the head only a little more elevated. Though, even with this advantage, how these low-breathed sounds — now and then cut in two, as it were, by some clever ventriloquism, bringing half the words from the lower depths of the chest — ever reach the ears for which they are intended, or convey any meaning, it is hard to understand! Certain I am the Japanese must have, by nature or practice, very fine auditory nerves. However, the slowly recurring 'Hai!' 'Heh!' 'Hah!' (Yes) — for it seems pronounced all ways, and sometimes from the lips, but oftener from unfathomable recesses low in the throat, and hovering between a deep drawn sigh and an interjection — gives assurance that the confidential murmurs are really heard to effect; — and they have this advantage, — that what the interpreter is saying — can only be known by the high officer himself who is addressed.

The following sketch well represents the attitude—though not the costume of an officer on duty.



A JAPANESE PROSTRATING HIMSELF BEFORE HIS SUPERIORS

This gossiping chapter on Japanese sayings and doings, however, must be brought to a close before half the 'queries' and 'facts' of my fair correspondent are answered. I see all sorts of 'notions' jotted down, about 'common dogs' or dogs in common—the only real nuisance of Japanese cities, in addition to the two-sworded Samourai—and 'beautiful cats' (without tails), 'rats and mice,' 'agates and cornelians,' and 'pearls fished up everywhere, of great size and beauty, which Japanese do not prize,'—the last part being more wonderful than the first. All I could then have said was, that I had seen no pearls, large or small; but if there were any I should be exceedingly surprised if my clever friends, the Japanese, had not learned their full value! And such I afterwards found to be the fact. They have them in certain quantities, and know what price to ask for them, and how to imitate the true article by false substitutes. And as for 'fine variegated marbles, jaspers,' and 'other precious stones' (said to come from the mountains), but particularly 'pearls,' for which they are 'celebrated,' alas! I had seen nothing; and could only assure her I would 'make a note of it,' especially the mountain pearls, if I should ever see any, and duly send her a sample.

My query-sheet wound up with something which *is* a

fact—namely, that 'outside of England there is nothing so green, so garden-like, so full of tranquil beauty—the country luxuriously wooded,—and cedars of great size and beauty are plentiful; the soil very fertile.'

Yes, all this is very true: such fertility of soil, fine growth of ornamental timber, richness and variety of foliage;—or such perfection of care and neatness in the hedge-rows and shady lanes, the gardens, and the numerous pleasure grounds of the temples, are not, I believe, to be found anywhere out of England. The brilliant green hues and freshness of the grass and every kind of foliage, rather betokens a damp climate; but the mixture of tropical vegetation with endless succession of evergreen trees and the hardier race of pines and *conifers* of great variety, gives a character to the whole scenery of the country as novel as it is perfect in effect. The tree-fern, which looks like a palm in its tufts of top-foliage and bare trunk; the bamboo, banana, and palm, side by side with the pine, the oak, and the beech, with a numerous race of timber trees and shrubs, some of which are probably unknown in Europe — open a wide field for the botanist, and give studies for the landscape painter of unrivalled beauty. There is an infinite variety of form, character, and colouring, in the masses of foliage that everywhere meet the eye, grouped in the midst of well-kept fields and verdant slopes which any English gentleman might envy for his park. Of meadow land only is there any want —the soil available for culture appears too precious for pasture, and is kept exclusively for the production of rice and corn and esculent vegetables. Hence no cattle are kept, except horses, and a few oxen for agricultural purposes, and no sheep or goats. To all this perfection of beauty it is almost the only drawback, while to the larder the loss is too irreparable to be contemplated with philosophy!

CHAPTER X.

A GLANCE AT JAPANESE POLITICS — HOW THE TWO AMERICAN TREATIES WERE MADE AND INAUGURATED — BY WHOM THE COUNTRY IS GOVERNED AND HOW.

IN a preceding chapter I endeavoured to give some general idea of the civilisation, the social condition, and the Government of Japan, as these were known to Europeans in past centuries. This earlier period offered a point of departure having many advantages. It formed a natural, and in some degree a necessary introduction to any narrative purporting to throw some light on the existing state of the country, as revealed by the experience of the first permanent mission located in the capital. Some first lessons in Japanese diplomacy and policy, as well as in their language, already given, will have shown the difficulties which from the beginning attended the first establishment of the Legations; though at the commencement there were but two, the British and the American. The second treaty of the United States, initiating a total change of policy, having been the precursor, and as it were the original, from which all those of subsequent date were drafted, it was of importance to ascertain what had been the various influences determining the Japanese ruling powers to take such a stride in advance,—as the second series of treaties marked. It will be necessary for the reader to remember that the first infraction of the Japanese system of absolute seclusion from the rest of the world, was effected by Commodore Perry, in 1854; who found means to induce them to enter into a treaty of humanity—

guaranteeing simply succour and good treatment, instead of imprisonment and death, to any shipwrecked or distressed sailors thrown on their inhospitable coasts. It aimed at nothing more, and the only relations established consisted in the right to locate a consul at Simoda, a small and unimportant place south of Cape Idzu. A very different state of affairs was contemplated in the treaty entered into four years later, by Mr. Harris, on the part of the United States. *Commerce and permanent Diplomatic relations*, were the avowed objects of the second series—initiated, as was the first, by the American Representative. This marked almost as great a change in the relations of Japan with the West as had the treaty of Perry,—which, for the first time during two centuries, recognised a right of intercourse as a principle; thus repudiating their long-cherished policy and *asserted right of exclusion.* How came such a result about—both in the first and the second of these instances? What train of causes produced a change amounting to a revolution in the foreign policy of the nation—a policy so inflexibly and resolutely maintained at all risks, after years of internecine war and bloodshed,—for more than two centuries? By what machinery was the change effected? Questions these, on the right solution of which obviously depended very much in the future. A predominating feeling of hostility to all innovation and the admission of foreigners among the ruling classes, manifested itself in too many forms to admit of doubt, when,—at the lapse of a year after the signature of the successive treaties,—the time arrived for giving them execution. With such prevailing feeling, how could these treaties have been made? What motives actuated those who at the time held the reins of power? While these remained unexplained and unintelligible, everything else connected with the position of foreigners in the country was obscure and doubtful. No force, apparently, had been used. It was indeed the peculiar pride and boast of Mr. Harris, that he had effected his object with no material means of support or

coercion; — the triumph of reason, argument, and diplomacy! This seemed very incomprehensible to me, and I confess very doubtful. The whole subject was one of great interest and importance moreover, and so continually presented itself with all its difficulties in our earlier intercourse with the Government and people, that it engaged my earnest attention with proportionate frequency. When the mystery was unravelled, I found within its meshes the pivot on which many very tragic events had turned, as well as a long succession of struggles and difficulties, by no means at an end. No apology can be needed, therefore, if I enter upon the matter with some fullness of detail. Many of the following particulars, so far as regarded Mr. Harris's own action, were given spontaneously by himself, and with full permission to make any use of the information. Indeed, as regards publicity, the leading facts have already been published, both in parliamentary papers and the daily press of both countries. All that I need do for the reader, is to group them in such order as will best conduce to a clear conception of the bearing and connection of the different parts,— and supply a plain and intelligible answer to the questions already enumerated.

The broad fact that a treaty was peacefully negotiated entirely changing the policy and relations of a Government and people — known chiefly for their tenacity of purpose in rejecting all overtures and attempts on the part of civilised nations to enter into friendly relations with them, has to be explained—taken in connection with another not less patent fact, that the Japanese Government have never ceased affirming, since those relations began, that the country was wholly unprepared for such changes; and that the whole nation regarded all foreign intercourse as a calamity and a source of danger! The two taken together involve a contradiction, of the most unintelligible kind, without the help of some missing links. To supply these, in a rapid narrative of actual occurrences, with the Government of the country and the

feudal classes for chief actors,—will probably serve better than any dissertation, however elaborate or scientific, to convey a clear idea of the political state of Japan on the arrival of the Foreign Legations, — and the nature of the difficulties to be overcome, in any attempt to establish commercial and friendly relations with the country under such conditions.

While Japan continued immovable, with her doors fast closed against the world, a little postern-gate alone being kept open for Dutch and Chinese at Nagasaki, and through which both were allowed (under continually increasing difficulties and exactions) to do a small barter trade, — great changes were taking place on the other side of the globe. The three inventions which, in the Chinese land of their birth, had remained unfruitful for a thousand years — Printing, the Compass, and Gunpowder — had sufficed, in less than three centuries, to revolutionise all Europe, and create a great empire in a newly discovered continent. Finally, Steam and Electricity came in the present century, to do the work of ages in a single generation; annihilating time and space,— making a tramway over the widest seas, and bringing the most distant countries into close proximity. To China and Japan, wrapped in Asiatic dreams of self-consequence and isolated existence, these mighty changes were either unknown or unheeded;—until both in quick succession were somewhat rudely wakened, by finding steam navies on their coasts, and all Europe thundering at their gates with a demand for instant admission! The Chinese resisted, and they were burst open. Where Amherst and Napier miserably failed, Paixan and Armstrong succeeded, and finally planted the flag of European Legations in Pekin itself. Japan, there seemed reason to believe, was better advised, and better able, perhaps, to understand and appreciate the changes which had completely altered the relative positions of Europe and the East. Partly, it would seem, from their greater quickness and aptitude for seizing the true meaning and significance of such facts as come before them; but greatly also owing to

the continued relations they had maintained with the Dutch. A door was thus kept open by which they could get reliable information of what was really passing in the world beyond. There seems little doubt that so far back as 1845, after the close of the first war with China, the Dutch set themselves seriously to work to prepare the Japanese mind for inevitable changes. The Government of the Netherlands has claimed some gratitude from other European nations, for liberality and disinterestedness in having thus spontaneously prepared the way for their admission into Japan. And much of Commodore Perry's success, on which all subsequent progress hinged, is, I think, fairly to be attributed to these preliminary efforts of the Dutch. In gradually instilling into the minds of Japanese Rulers a conviction of the absolute necessity, sooner or later, of a departure from their system of absolute seclusion; — and of their total inability to cope with the material means of attack and coercion wielded by the Western Powers,— backed as such arguments would be by a reference to what we had done in China, — there can be no reasonable question, I think, that they effectively prepared the way for fundamental changes. Their representations must have had great weight, and no doubt materially tended to bring about the final result ten years later (in 1854) when the American squadron first appeared in the Japanese waters with proposals for a treaty. As to the disinterestedness and liberality of the action, why should we take the ungracious office of contesting either the one or the other? The best of governments and of men, are not absolutely above the influence of self-interest, and other more or less worldly motives, even when bent upon seeking to do good. No doubt it might be said with truth that the time had long gone by when the Dutch had anything to lose by letting in other nations to the Japanese markets, — and they may well have been glad to seize on any opportunity (without abandoning that which they had so tenaciously clung to for many generations), of escaping from the humiliating and objectionable

position they occupied singly in Japan. And how could this be better done than by joining with the Powers of the West, and preparing the way for the success of all,—in breaking down the barriers which separated Japan from the rest of the world? But whatever may have been the motives that influenced them,—into which, I repeat, we need not too curiously inquire,—they contributed material aid in a good work; and whether the Japanese may be disposed to thank them for the co-operation—of which I have serious doubt now that the results are before them,—the rest of the Treaty Powers who desired to see the doors unbarred without fighting for it; — may very well thank the Dutch for the helping hand which they lent from the inside!

It was under these circumstances that Commodore Perry appeared off Cape Idzu on July 8, 1853, with an American squadron consisting of two large-class steam frigates and two sloops of war. And having delivered a letter from the President proposing a treaty of amity and commerce,—which the Japanese authorities showed little disposition to grant, though by no means prepared for what they evidently anticipated might be the consequences of a refusal,—the Commodore took his departure with a promise, or a menace, whichever way it may have been taken, of returning the following year, and with a 'larger fleet,' for a definite answer.

On February 12, 1854, accordingly, the Commodore reappeared in the bay of Yeddo with three steam frigates, four sloops of war, and two store ships; a squadron of nine vessels. It is not necessary here to go into the details already known of the somewhat protracted negotiations which followed,— ending in the signature of a treaty of amity, and promise of succour to ships in distress. They tried various expedients as grounds of delay in giving *any* final answer. Particularly, they urged the death of the Siogoon (Tycoon) in the interval between the Commodore's two visits — information which they had even sent on, through their Dutch friends, to Batavia, in the vain hope of preventing his return,—or at least indefinitely deferring

it. Finding this step had failed in the desired effect, and all pleas for denial resolutely put aside by a Plenipotentiary in command of a large fleet,—speaking words of peace, but looking dangerous,—they signed a treaty opening two new ports, of no value indeed in any commercial sense,—but of infinite importance, as sounding the knell of their long-cherished policy of exclusion and non-intercourse!

One thing must be perfectly clear, even from this bare recital of facts, namely, that the Japanese Government did not *wish* to make a treaty;—and were only induced to sign one in the end, under the 'moral suasion' of a formidable fleet, commanded by the negotiator in person; which they felt by no means certain would not be employed against them in active hostilities, if they persisted in refusing. In perfect accord with this, is the farther fact, that they yielded less than was asked, and gave no more — even under strong pressure — than they could help.

This treaty of Commodore Perry's brought in due time a Diplomatic agent of the United States to Simoda, in the person of Mr. Harris, with the official title of Consul-General. There he resided until 1857, when, having a letter of credence from the President, he succeeded, with no small difficulty, in obtaining permission to proceed to Yeddo, to present it, — either to the Tycoon himself or to his ministers. But the Japanese would have been untrue to their own nature and instincts—if this had been conceded without a stout resistance.

The way in which the parallels of attack, and works of counter-defence, were drawn by the two contending forces engaged, it was very amusing to trace. The thorough-going and clear-headed American, feeling he held a key in the President's letter, which rightly used might open the gates of Yeddo, determined to put it to its destined use, on the side of the attack;—the Japanese officials, first of Simoda, and afterwards others delegated from the capital, bent every resource of subtlety and finesse to get it out of his hands and leave him where he was, at

an outer post. This on the side of the defence. These two parties pitted against each other, under every possible form of courtesy, sought a diplomatic victory — entrance into Yeddo and a treaty being the prizes, if won by the American ;— and a final abandonment of a system of exclusion and isolation with all their traditional policy in regard to foreigners on the part of the Japanese, the bitter fruit to them if they were defeated. Mr. Harris had 'an autograph letter from the President and certain matters to communicate to the Tycoon and his ministers.' 'Truly very important, and most desirable that his Majesty and the council of ministers should be in possession — but why should the Consul-General have the trouble of going to Yeddo? They had been especially commissioned to receive the letter, and hear what he had to offer.' That could not be assented to — 'It was not usual to deliver an autograph letter from one Sovereign to another, save by the hand of their own Representative named for that purpose. Moreover, the matters he had to communicate were of national importance, and could only be fitly communicated by himself direct to the Tycoon or his ministers.'

'To the Tycoon! — Impossible; no one could speak or transact business with the Tycoon!'

'Very sorry to hear it, for in that case the autograph letter and accompanying message must remain undelivered.'

'But what if a high officer were especially despatched from Yeddo to represent the Tycoon, and receive the letter from the Consul-General's own hands?'

'An unnecessary trouble, since it would be equally impossible for the Representative of the United States to acquit himself of his important mission, — and one more important perhaps to the Government of Japan, than his own.'

So days and weeks were consumed, but somewhere about the end of 1857 all the outer defences were carried, and Mr. Harris entered Yeddo, not to leave it, in March

or April of 1858, until he had framed his treaty, discussing paragraph by paragraph and article by article. The gathering together of large forces by Great Britain for the prosecution of their demands on China, in alliance with France—the generally rumoured intention of the two governments, and also of Russia, to send plenipotentiaries shortly to Japan, to open more effectually the ports of that country to European commerce and enterprise—all no doubt materially tended to give weight to the more pacific arguments of the American agent, urging that the true policy of Japan was no longer to defer doing, under the most favourable and honourable conditions without compromising its dignity or independence,—that which *must* come under wholly different circumstances before the year was out.

And thus the foundation for a *Commercial* Treaty was laid, by pointing out to the Japanese Government that the time was plainly approaching when *refusal on their part would be impossible*, for they would have the Western world in collective strength breaking down the barriers; and that one only means remained by which they might preserve their free agency and self-respect, namely, to enter into a treaty with the Representative of the United States,—alone, as he then was, unattended by a single ship of war; and thus, when other Powers came on the field with large squadrons (it might be with increased or exaggerated demands) the answer would be ready, 'Here is a treaty we have concluded of our own free will with one of the great Western Powers — we are willing to enter into like engagements with you, but object to having different relations with the States of Europe.' All exaggerated or dangerous pretensions to privileges incompatible with their dignity or safety would thus be put aside, and without offence or danger of collision!

From the moment that this train of reasoning or argument was understood and adopted by them, as apparently it was very speedily, they saw their own interest and dignity would thus best be consulted, — or acted as if they

did,—and entered without farther debate into the subject matter of a treaty of amity and commerce.

The plan of attack was skilfully designed. For, whether the American Representative was fully persuaded in his own mind that England and France, with their victorious forces in the Peiho, would speedily come and *insist* upon new treaties and enlarged facilities,— or only regarded the possible contingency as a means to secure his own success, which fortune had thrown in his way, — is not very material in reference to the result.

This mode of appealing to the feelings most likely to influence a Japanese—national pride and fears of aggression — and this on the part of a friend anxious to spare them the humiliation of having to yield to superior force on the one hand, or to grant unreasonable demands on the other, was completely successful, — up to the signature of the treaty, when a last and most unexpected obstacle stood full in the path! 'The ministers were willing; the Tycoon, too, would yield; but a powerful party among the hereditary Princes and Daimios forming the great council of the nation, were still in a majority, and would not consent.' There were some six hundred Daimios, all feudal chiefs, many with territorial jurisdiction, exercising 'la haute justice,' with power of life and death in their own principalities. And no fundamental change in the customs of Japan could be effected without their assent, or at least that of the great council of eighteen, representing the Mikado at Yeddo, further confirmed by the Mikado. This was a cruel check after such steady progress and near approach to the consummation desired — the honour, for America, of making the first treaty with Japan, opening the country to foreign commerce.

But for the moment the obstacle was insuperable. The hostile majority continued compact and menacing, 'Many had been gained'— more enlightened men possibly, who saw what their colleagues could not discern, that the time was at hand when all opposition would be futile, and bring only the disgrace of defeat and harder terms. Time there-

fore was demanded by the ministers, and a characteristic Eastern argument was urged in support and illustration of the state of affairs — 'Japan is a little maiden, full of promise, but she is not yet matured. If you listen only to your passions and take her now, you will spoil all the beauty into which she will otherwise ripen for your greater happiness and enjoyment.' Adding, 'You do not wish, nor can it be your interest, to plunge this country into a civil war, the end of which no one can see. Be patient, then. Leave it in our hands, and we will give you a promise in writing, under the pledge of the Tycoon, that in September, at the latest, the treaty now endorsed shall be formally concluded.' Mr. Harris yielded the point it seemed impossible to carry; and it was afterwards arranged that each should retain a copy of the draft treaty signed by the other, in proof that all the stipulations had been finally agreed upon. Upon this the American negotiator took his departure for Simoda, his usual place of residence; this was, I think, in May, 1858. In June, the allied squadrons were at the mouth of the Peiho, and on July 27, our treaty with the Court of Pekin was extorted at the cannon's mouth; opening the whole length and breadth of the Empire — all the navigable rivers, and the gates of Pekin, nearly as hermetically sealed to foreigners as Yeddo itself had been for the last three centuries.

Short space was allowed to intervene between the signature of the treaty and the arrival of the United States' frigate Mississippi in the Bay of Simoda with the startling news. The finale may be imagined. Mr. Harris immediately proceeded to Kanagawa in another frigate, the 'Powhattan,' turning up, we are to believe, equally fortuitously, but fortunately at the precise moment it was wanted; and Imperial commissioners were despatched to meet him. 'What news is this?' 'Treaties have been signed with four of the greatest Powers of the West, after the destruction of the Chinese batteries by the English and French. The same four Powers will in another month be knocking at the gates of Yeddo. Do

you wish to lose all the advantages for which you have laboured and risked so much?' 'No!' 'Very well, then, conclude without delay your treaty with the United States, already drafted, agreed to, and signed on both sides. Give it formal execution, and thus secure yourselves from less moderate demands, which may within the month be urged by other Powers — backed with imposing squadrons.' And the dates were filled in accordingly, and the treaty formally executed on board of the 'Powhattan,' on the third day from Mr. Harris's arrival.

Throughout the negotiations, apparently single-handed, and without any material support from his Government, the American diplomatic agent thus surmounted all difficulties and proved himself fully equal to the occasion. How such success was secured, with the knowledge since attained, it is easy to see; but it detracts nothing from the credit due to the strategic skill with which the negotiator turned the weakness of the Japanese,—the strength of his neighbours,—and even his own want of material support from the Government he represented, all equally to account, for the success of his mission! Where others might have seen only motives of discouragement, he found all the elements of victory. Availing himself of the fleets of the Allies — having none under the American flag at his disposal,— and while the echo of their guns in the Peiho, and the rumour of their victorious operations were still in the ears of the Tycoon and his advisers — he achieved the object of all his labours; and this at the very time, when they seemed least likely to be either promptly or successfully brought to a close. For, although a treaty had been drafted, and signatures more or less informally exchanged, the final execution had already entered into that dangerous phase in all Oriental diplomacy —procrastination, with a contingent future. Mr. Harris himself had returned to his isolated domicile, at Simoda, there to wait until the deferred period for execution arrived. Who could say what new cause of delay might be discovered within that interval? Was there any real intention of keeping faith? Mr. Harris may have thought

and believed there was; — others, with a longer experience than anyone could then have, would probably arrive at a different conclusion. Be this as it may, the weakness and distracted counsels of Japan, combined with victory and strength on the opposite shore, was the diplomatist's opportunity, — and well and promptly he seized upon it; unquestionably paving the way, or rather *macadamising* it, for all succeeding negotiators! Shall he be blamed that, having no fleets or material force of his own country to fall back upon, he adroitly turned to profit those of the allies, flushed with victory? We may question the right to use it as a means of 'moral pressure,' since that required that he should assume and attribute to us views or intentions that might not be ours, and which were not certainly of a nature to make us very favourably looked upon by Japanese rulers; but it must be admitted the opportunity was very tempting, — and diplomatists, the ablest and best, are but mortals after all! Nay, more, to a diplomatic agent of the United States — it must have been peculiarly and especially tempting. While demonstrating the 'peaceful and friendly policy' of his own Government, which 'required no material force, and kept no fleets in Eastern seas to make aggressive wars on distant potentates or peoples' (as other publicans and sinners did), he was really invoking the effective aid of the belligerent resources and *prestige*, which were the objects of reprobation. This bellicose and aggressive action of England — of which we have heard so much in China and elsewhere during the last twenty years, whenever she has been engaged, at her cost and peril, in fighting her own battles in Eastern seas; yet scarcely more her own, than those of the whole Western world — was never brought more decisively to bear; but this time it was in a new country, and by the apostle of peace — the Representative of the United States in person! This was a veritable *tour de maitre*, to use and turn to such account the belligerent allies, holding them *in terrorem* over the Japanese, — and to do this in a way that should give the United States all the benefit and the credit, without any of

the cost, of great expeditions;—while to Great Britain was left only the odium of a reputation at once bellicose and exigeant. In the same quarter a disposition has more than once been shown* to attribute to some peculiar pugnacity—or other vice of British agents in Japan,—the seeming preference given on two occasions to the British Legation as an object of murderous attack; once during my residence in Yeddo, and once subsequently with the Chargé d'Affaires officiating in my absence. The premisses hardly bear out the inference of any exclusive preference,—since the outrage of assassinating those who are resident in Yeddo and attached to the several Legations has been pretty impartially distributed. The Secretary of the United States' was slain in the streets not far from his own Minister's door; and the life of a servant of the French Minister was attempted at the Legation gate. Dutch and Russians have equally been the objects of murderous attack at Yokohama and Hakodadi. But were it otherwise, and an unenviable preference were really the lot of the British Legation,—might not this more naturally be accounted for, by a reference to the pleasant introduction, of a diplomatic kind, which the negotiations just detailed must have supplied?

Whether success in negotiating a treaty establishing commercial and diplomatic relations,—is a benefit or an injury to Japan and other Powers brought in contact with a people who their rulers declare are wholly unfitted and unprepared for any such violent and rapid change in policy,—is another question altogether! But it is one which events have been continually forcing upon the Treaty Powers, ever since the opening of the ports,—and is yet unsolved in any very satisfactory or conclusive manner. This much is alone certain, that it was a success which has borne bitter fruit to all on the Japanese side who took any part in the signature of the treaty or its negotiation,—from the Tycoon to the subordinate secretaries and interpreters. Before the ink was

* See official correspondence laid before Congress in 1861-2.

well dry, a violent reaction seems to have taken place among the Daimios, inimical to such fundamental changes, which swept the whole of the actors from the scene; the Tycoon and his ministers the first — the one to his grave and the others to banishment and disgrace.

There was something ominous in the fact that each of the two American treaties cost a reigning Tycoon his life. The one fell subsequent to Commodore Perry's first visit, and his life was taken — so the Japanese generally believe — as the penalty for admitting *any* intercourse; and the second died immediately after the signature of Mr. Harris's treaty. A triumph to one contracting party, — but a signal of death to the other!

The whole course of events, as narrated by the Japanese among themselves and generally accredited, forms a very curious chapter in their history, and throws so much light on the political state and organisation of the country, that it well deserves attention. It may not be accurate or strictly true in all its details — no one can safely vouch for that, perhaps, in any country. Sir Robert Walpole, himself a principal actor and behind the scenes, used to account for his never listening to history, by saying '*that* he knew to be false — whatever books of fiction might be.' And if our guarantees for truth and perfect accuracy are deficient in Europe, where records are kept and often published; what shall we say of the materials of history in Japan, where it is not permitted to write under pain of death? Perhaps the prohibition may have had for motive a conviction of the utter hopelessness of attaining truth! Be this as it may, the narrative as it has reached me from divers sources, and often in detached portions or very fragmentary shape, seems sufficiently illustrative, despite all contingent chances of inaccuracy, to be worthy of record, — if only to show what a long chapter of tragic events the renewal of foreign relations has opened in the history of Japan. Every page seems to have been written in blood, and each phase to have demanded a victim. Of

the number and identity of these there is at least no question.

When Commodore Perry first arrived (in 1853), Minamotto Jejoshi had reigned seventeen years as Tycoon. He is said to have been a prince of energy and experience and to have carried weight in the council of Daimios by his superior intelligence. On the first news of the arrival of a foreign fleet in the forbidden waters, the Daimios severally charged with the defence of that part of the coast are said to have mustered, in two days, 10,000 men, with artillery, commanded by three princes of large revenue and consideration, whose names are given.

The President's letter, however, it was resolved should be received; and a year's delay was demanded for time to assemble a great council of Daimios. A few days after the Tycoon died suddenly. The following is said to be the palace chronicle of the mode of his death, and the subsequent events.

Minamotto's prime minister was Midzouno Etsisen-no-Kami, a stout defender of old laws and customs, and he, it is said, conspired with other Daimios then in the capital, as to the means of *saving the country from foreign influence.* It was agreed that the Tycoon should be poisoned, and some charge Etsisen-no-Kami with views of aggrandisement for himself, as future regent, the Tycoon's only son being of infirm mind. But when the cup containing the poison was presented to the Tycoon by one of the officers who had been tampered with, something roused the suspicions of the destined victim, and he threw the cup with its contents into his attendant's face, who instantly drew his sword and ran him through the body, killing himself immediately afterwards. Midzouno Etsisen was loudly accused by the Tycoon's followers,—and he also performed the Hara-Kiru.

Minamotto Yesado, the son aforesaid, succeeded his father, and Ikomono-no-Kami became Regent, that office being hereditary in his family whenever, from minority

or other cause, the reigning Tycoon shall be incapable of governing. In the conflict of opinions respecting foreign relations, Ikomono is described as preserving a neutral position, and refusing to pronounce a decided opinion on either side. His first act was to summon a great council to deliberate on the answer to be given to the American propositions to enter into a treaty. All the Daimios of 50,000 kokous of rice in revenue, and upwards, were invited to assist, and even those with less, who were in any way distinguished. Many advocated resistance *à l'outrance*. At the head of these was the Prince of Mito, supported by many powerful Daimios. The Prince of Kago, with a revenue of 10,000,000 kokous, is reported to have placed his hand on his sword in full council, exclaiming, 'Rather than consent to enter into a treaty, it were better to die fighting!' The Prince of Mito deemed the dignity of the country compromised, if the subversive changes and the relations proposed by the Americans were admitted, and advocated the acceptance of such relations only as were consistent with their old established policy. It is difficult to understand in what these could consist, since that policy was one of absolute exclusion to all save a few Dutch; and considering that only two ports of refuge were conceded, Simoda and Hakodadi, both perfectly useless for purposes of trade, and no commerce was in effect allowed,—what the minor concessions could have amounted to, which the Prince of Mito and his party would have counselled, it would be hard to say!

It was determined, however, in view of the unprepared state of the defences, to seem to listen—and to temporise, making such treaty only as might seem necessary, to avoid an immediate declaration of war, which they evidently considered the probable consequence of any total denial. We know the President's instructions were to abstain from all menace of war or employment of force. How far Commodore Perry's action was calculated to give a different idea, we need not very closely inquire. One thing

is certain, such was not the impression received by the Japanese.

The Prince of Mito, it would appear, had the idea of profiting by all this conflict and confusion, either by becoming himself Tycoon or securing the election of his son. One of the GOSANKAY (the name given to the royal house, descended from the three brothers of the founder of the existing dynasty), he had legitimate pretensions, in the event of a vacancy; while the present occupant had no son, and was not in a state to exercise the power of adopting one to succeed him. But it was an old grief of this branch of the royal descendants, that they had ever been excluded in favour of some heir of the other houses, the Princes of Kiusiu or Owari, when an election had taken place. Moved by these motives, Mito plotted to put himself at the head of a powerful body of the Daimios inimical to the new relations established with Foreign Powers, to poison the reigning Tycoon, and secure the succession.

When the second American treaty negotiated by Mr. Harris was under discussion, it is supposed he actively opposed the final signature; and when this was consummated in the precipitate manner already detailed,—under pressure of the announced arrival of victorious fleets from China with plenipotentiaries of two great maritime Powers of Europe, the hour for action arrived; and the Tycoon had ceased to live before Lord Elgin's appearance the following month! The GOTAIRO, as the regent is officially styled, had no doubt from whence the blow came. He instantly had all the attendants in the palace seized, and by torture wrung from them confessions criminating the Prince of Mito. He sent to the latter an order of banishment to his territories, giving him to understand, *that if instantly obeyed*, it should only be temporary; and if resisted, he should be charged before the great council with the poisoning of the Tycoon, for which the penalty was crucifixion. In the event of his quietly abandoning the field, it was further promised him, that his crime should not be divulged. Overawed by so much vigour and

determination, or unprepared for such prompt action, the Prince of Mito accepted the alternative and retired,—discomfited and compromised, to his principality. The elective council was immediately convoked, and the young Prince of KIUSIU, whose father was still alive, was duly elected Tycoon; to the exclusion of the Prince of Mito and his son. The latter, unlike this heir of the house of Kiusiu, was a man of thirty, instead of a boy of fifteen. But the minority of the former was no doubt one of his recommendations, since it left the power in the hands of the Regent IKOMONO, which he promptly exercised it seems, to issue a decree of perpetual banishment against the old Prince of Mito, and deposition in favour of his son. This, according to the received accounts, was an act of treachery and a breach of faith on the part of the Gotairo,—and we shall see later how it was avenged.

From causes not very clearly understood or explained, there was, contemporaneously, a total change in the composition of the Gorogio or Great Council of State, forming in fact the cabinet or government of the Tycoon, and consisting of five ministers. Those in office when the treaty was signed were all disgraced and disappeared from the scene, as well as nearly all their subordinates. A complete palace revolution appears to have taken place, consequent on the double event of the signature of the second of the American treaties and the murder of the Tycoon. Mr. Harris, fortunately perhaps for himself, also disappeared from the scene, having returned to his secluded place of residence of Simoda until the following year, when he returned to Yeddo, at the same time as myself, to take up his permanent residence in the capital.

And thus were inaugurated the first two treaties which Foreign Powers owe to the United States. The first inserting the wedge of limited intercourse for objects of humanity;—the second splitting open the rock of Japanese obstruction and opening the country to commerce;—a fit preface to the long series of tragedies which, as will be

seen, were destined to mark the progress of foreign relations with a country containing so many hostile elements.

The hostile party now came into power, it is said, and have ever since remained. Midzuo Tsikfogono, the chief of the ministry when I arrived, had been called from his retirement to enter anew on the cares of office, as the best representative, it is to be assumed, of the conservative, retrograde, or patriotic party — for all these titles may be laid claim to. They are opposed to the introduction of any foreign elements — persons, goods, or ideas — as pregnant with mischief and fraught with danger to the stability of the empire. By some it is believed that there is a progressive party in Japan, in advance, at all events, of those whom they stigmatise as '*toads in a well*,' — the latter being supposed to see but a very small speck above their heads and under their eyes, and to enjoy no breadth of view. But I confess, the longer my experience, the more doubtful it has appeared to me. The only true distinction, so far as we are concerned, is, I believe, one of degree only; degree, that is, of opposition; and based rather upon the relative timidity or courage of the leaders, than any leaning to advanced views. Those who are timid or wary, advocate a temporising policy to gain time for better preparation, or at least to defer the evil day. The more rash or courageous would fling down the gauntlet, and like the Prince of Kago prefer to die with swords in their hands, than tolerate any longer the presence of the foreigner, and the danger of change and revolution which he brings inevitably in his train. The prevision of the former ministry, guided by Mr. Harris's information of the certain arrival of plenipotentiaries from England and France, so promptly justified by the event, — was therefore, to them, a source of safety. For the new ministry, despite its retrograde tendencies, had to do, what ministries have sometimes done elsewhere — carry out the very policy, as a matter of State necessity, — which they had denounced as treason or imbecility in their predecessors. Then followed quick the Russian treaty, and on the heels of Count Poutiatine came Baron

Gros and the French treaty. Then the Dutch. It rained treaties, as if all the furies had been let loose by an avenging Nemesis on the heads of the forsworn and recalcitrant ministry! They must have felt their cup of bitterness was full when they signed the last of the series, and approaching winter gave them a promise of respite! But they were even then threatened with a necessity to conclude treaties with other Powers great and small, two of which are now already matters of history. Unhappy political martyrs, for they still retained the seals of office! Do these bring here, as in other countries, compensations and advantages to reconcile their holders to labours, humiliations, and anxieties—since men of wealth and station can everywhere be found voluntarily to go through a long course of bitter diet, eating their own words and reversing the policy they stormily upheld when out of office?

The dismissed ministers and subordinate functionaries were still out and in disgrace. Lord Elgin's arrival simply helped to prevent any necessity of a resort to the 'happy despatch,'* the curious title *we* give to their crucial mode of letting life escape by an opening in the abdomen, when something worse than death alone remains, if their existence should be prolonged.

If we turn now from the exclusively political field to the general constitution of the realm and the social condition of the people governed, we shall find ample opportunity for the study of 'a new phase of humanity,' which Albert Smith, of pleasant memory, said was *his* object in travelling to China. Long isolation has given to this branch of the earth's great family a developement which they may claim with some reason as peculiarly their own. Their outer life, their laws, customs, and institutions have all something peculiar—a *cachet* of their own which may always be distinguished. It is neither Chinese nor European, nor can the type be said

* Both the original words in Japanese and the translation have been travestied by Europeans. The words are, 'Hara wo kiru'—'Belly cut.' The 'happy despatch' is a pure invention, and a term wholly unknown to the Japanese.

to be purely Asiatic. The Japanese seem rather to be like the Greeks of the ancient world, forming a link between Europe and Asia; and put forth claims to be ranked inferior to neither race in *some* of their best qualities; yet very strangely blending many of the worst characteristics of both. While we are acquiring their language and preparing to enter into such intercourse with them as shall permit intimate relations of a domestic and social kind to be formed—such alone as can give an insight into the daily life, as well as the habits of thought and action of the different classes—we cannot do better, perhaps, than to study them in their outer aspects, as a preparative to a profounder study of their characteristics as a nation. I remember one day, in a conversation on Chinese life, M. Thiers observing, in reply to a remark elicited by the various information he appeared to have been at some pains to collect respecting China, 'that the life and civilisation of the Chinese had always greatly interested him, from its bearing on "*l'histoire de l'esprit humain.*"' And no doubt the study of any distinct branch of the human family in its developement, progress, and resulting civilisation, is one of great interest to the philosophic mind. Peculiarly so as regards the Chinese and Japanese, perhaps, from the fact of their being the only two of the Asiatic nations that have shown any aptitude during the last ten centuries, for a higher civilisation than belongs to the nomad tribes. The Indian race in far remote ages, and the Arabs subsequently, have left in their history and architecture, their literature, and their systems of philosophy and religion, records of a civilisation and mental developement of no mean order; but with them the traditions of the past alone remain, and their present developement is apparently of a very inferior kind. Not so with either Chinese or Japanese; they are to this day, as they have been for the last two thousand years, the former certainly, if not the latter, highly civilised, and with considerable intellectual culture. In the industrial arts their progress in remote ages was such as to leave all the

Indo-Germanic races peopling Europe far behind; and even at this day they yet excel us in many things. In arts and manufactures we have, upon the whole, far outstripped them during the last century; and in art, properly so called, always;—for amidst many peculiarities, none is more strikingly characteristic of both these races, than the absence of all artistic power or developement of the *highest* kind. Beyond a perfection of colour in their porcelains, and graceful forms in their bronzes, they have done little that will bear comparison or close examination. Yet a certain graphic power, as I will show more particularly hereafter, the Japanese possess in no mean degree. But of art, not only the 'high art'—in praise and pursuit of which poor Haydon wasted so much breath and canvas, and at last a life, cast away in bitterness and disappointment,—but every other form,—music, painting, sculpture, and poetry, all are yet in their infancy, and seem incapable of advance. As regards the Chinese, and the same remark applies to the Japanese, their music is without melody; their landscapes without perspective, light, or shade; their figures without drawing, a mere *gâchis* of crude colours and grotesque forms, dancing in mid-air, without ground to rest on; and only saved from being utterly contemptible by a certain freedom and power in the outline and expression. So again in architecture, a tent-like house, sometimes one superimposed upon the other in two or three stories, with grotesque curves and twisted borders to the roofs, is the extent of their architectural achievements. No, I wrong them. These 300,000,000 of the human race, moulded into one nationality by identity of origin, and a uniform written language, for more than 2,000 years, have given to the world as their contribution to architecture,—the Pagoda, which not only has a claim to originality, but fair pretensions to admiration for lightness and grace,—though far inferior to its Indian or Arabic prototype, the minaret. Yet this people, 600 years B.C., when Greece was in its palmy days, and gave to all posterity a Socrates, a Plato, and an Aristotle, and the rest of the inhabitants of the now civil-

ised world were little better than painted savages or wandering freebooters and pirates,—could boast philosophers as great, in Confucius and Mencius; industrial arts wholly unknown even to the polished Greek; porcelain and enamel —and silk fabrics for which a Roman Senator would give their weight in gold. The art of printing, and it is tolerably certain both the compass and gunpowder, were equally known to them — the great instruments of all modern progress. These seem strange anomalies in the history of civilisation, well calculated to arrest attention. As it is not a history of China, however,— nor even of Japan,—which I propose to write, we will turn to other and more every-day matters. Yet it may be well, even in turning to other fields, to remember that the most casual observation of the manners, habits, and institutions of one of these long-isolated races, has a bearing upon the higher questions of social and mental progress; and may incidentally throw some light upon problems, which the peculiarities of a persistent and monotonous civilisation through so many successive ages, unavoidably suggest. Long passed in the race by the younger progeny of Europe, both Japanese and Chinese must now be content to sit and learn, — accepting the place of pupils, though once they were so capable of being teachers. The latter can still boast of population and area far exceeding the widest limits ever attained by rival races; and in some few things (the inheritance of former greatness) a still surviving superiority. We cannot to this day, I believe, produce a piece of China crape, amidst all the marvels and variety of textile fabrics our looms turn out. The Japanese have silk and crape textile fabrics also, which I doubt exceedingly the power of our most skilled workmen to imitate. Neither can we rival their beautiful enamel vases, or mend a hole in an iron kettle, with all our discoveries and appliances, as they can, with only a little charcoal stove in the street, and a blow-pipe; and these are all things familiar to the Chinese, though something of the art of enameling may have been lost in the dust of ages.

Into the history of the Japanese nation and the modifications which its political constitution has successively undergone, I do not propose to enter; — for although to a student of national life and character, it is needful these should be known, and often borne in mind in drawing general conclusions, — the briefest sketch may suffice to give the casual reader all the information which he requires. So many compilations from the old Dutch authorities have appeared in a popular form recently, that the leading features of Japanese history are pretty generally known already. That the Mikado is the hereditary sovereign of the empire, the descendant of a long and uninterrupted line of sovereigns of the same dynasty, and the only sovereign *de jure* recognised by all Japanese from the Tycoon to the lowest beggar; — a true sovereign in all the legal attributes of sovereignty: and that the Tycoon receives investiture from him as his Lieutenant or Generalissimo, *and as such only*, the head of the Executive, — is known to most readers of the present day. True, the Mikados have been shorn of much of their power since Yoritomo, in 1143, profiting by civil commotions among the princes of the land, and armed with power as Generalissimo to humble these turbulent chiefs, — only suppressed the troubles, to arrogate to himself greater part of the sovereign power, under the title given by a grateful master of Ziogun. Another Pepin d'Héristal and Mayor of the palace, he did not care to dethrone the descendant of an illustrious line of emperors; — and was content with holding the reins, and transmitting the same privilege to his descendants. And so the power continued divided in great degree, the shadow from the substance, until later, towards the close of the sixteenth century, a peasant's son and favourite attendant of the actual Generalissimo, best known in Japanese history by the name he afterwards assumed of *Taiko Sama*, raised himself, apparently by great abilities as well as daring, to the seat of power, on his master's death, — and stripped the reigning Mikado of the last remnants of secular power.

Since that time the successive Emperors, or Mikados, are brought into the world, and live and die within the precincts of their court at Miaco, the boundaries of which they never pass during a whole life. Is it possible to conceive a less desirable destiny? But the Zioguns, or Tycoons as they are styled in European Treaties,* have long been undergoing a somewhat analogous process, under which all substantial power has been transferred from them to the principal Daimios or Princes, who form a Great Council of State,—and whose nominee the Tycoon himself has become, as well, I believe, as all his chief ministers or councillors. They exercise, if they do not claim, the right of removing both Tycoon and ministers, —and a voice potential in all affairs of state. For legislative changes even the almost forgotten Mikado must indeed give his consent, never of course refused when any unanimity prevails. So much was apparently known in the days of Kœmpfer, and published by him,— but when the treaty with America was concluded, as we have seen, many things took place not only highly illustrative of the times and the men in Japan;— but throwing some new light on the balance of political power in the State.

The Mikado of the day is the exact type of the last descendant of Clovis, sitting 'sad and solitary, effeminate and degenerate,' doomed only to wield 'a barren sceptre,' and sigh away a burdensome and useless existence of mock pageantry;— never permitted to pass the gates of his prison-palace. It is related that some years ago one of those fearful and all-devouring fires, for which the great imperial cities of Miaco, Osaca, and Yeddo enjoy a most unenviable reputation, drove the inmates even of the Dairi † out of the sacred precincts, the only choice being

* This title is involved in some obscurity. It does not seem to date farther back than Commodore Perry's treaty in 1854, is hardly known by the Japanese, and attributable to the pedantry of a preceptor of the Ziogun, learned in Chinese, who *invented*, or coined a title for the occasion, composed of two Chinese words, Tai and Koon or Kun, signifying Great Lord.

† The name given to the Court.

that of the celebrated King of Aragon,—of moving or being burned alive! Rigid as the etiquette of the Dairi is held to be, it appears that it melted before the fire of a vast city in flames; and His Sacred Majesty after escaping to one temple in the environs had to flee to a second; and on his way to cast himself from his bullock-car and take to his feet, under penalty of being burned after all. One cannot help feeling that in all probability this escape, with all the change, movement, and excitement, must have formed by far the pleasantest, if not the only, agreeable hours he knew throughout his whole existence! How his august person, too sacred to be exposed to the vulgar gaze of his subjects, was restored to its pristine sanctity after that midnight rush and long tramp along the dusty roads, Japanese writers have not told us.

This double machinery of a titular Sovereign who only reigns, and a Lieutenant of the empire who only governs, and does *not* reign, from generation to generation, is certainly something very curious; and by long continuance it seems to have led to a duplicate system such as never existed in any other part of the world, carried out to almost every detail of existence. Every office is doubled; every man is alternately a watcher and watched. Not only the whole administrative machinery is in duplicate, but the most elaborate system of check and counter-check, on the most approved Machiavellian principle, is here developed with a minuteness and perfection as regards details, difficult at first to realise. As upon all this is grafted a system of more than Oriental mendacity, one feels launched into a world of shadows and make-believes, hard to grapple with in the practical business of life. Of their mendacity, and cynical views respecting it, I had many illustrations. One of these official gentry, upon a particular occasion, having been found by a Foreign Minister in deliberate contradiction with himself, was asked, somewhat abruptly perhaps, how he could reconcile it to his conscience to utter such palpable untruths? With perfect calmness and self-possession he replied, 'I told

you last month that such and such a thing had been done, and now I tell you the thing has not been done at all. I am an officer whose business it is to carry out the instructions I receive, and to say what I am told to say. What have I to do with its truth or falsehood?' This must be pleasant hearing to those whose business lies with officials;—but perhaps the chief difference in the manners and customs of officials and diplomatists at the two extremities of the great Continent may after all be more in forms than in things! In Europe, are not official untruths also told now and then (some people think, systematically)— and unblushingly enough too; — only it is not considered right to avow the fact, with the same cynical indifference to what may be thought either of it or the avowal.

To return to the Tycoon and the government of the early middle ages, with its Suzerain and Feudatories, its fiefs and a phantom king, with hereditary Mayors of the palace, and Chiefs with 10,000 retainers, each one holding himself as good as the Tycoon, who must live in constant dread of open revolt or secret assassination — what a pleasant state of existence for all parties it reveals. Each of these territorial magnates or great Daimios is practically independent of the Tycoon, when within his own territory, with power of life and death over all his subjects and dependents. When at Nagasaki, I heard upon good authority a history of an incident yet fresh in the memory of every one, highly illustrative both of this fact, and the state of feeling as regards foreigners and Japanese honour. Two of the retainers of an officer, a subject of the Prince of Fizen, got into a quarrel with some foreigners in the street, and were disarmed, after drawing their swords. This reached the Prince's ears, and so highly incensed him, that he sent instant orders to his officer to have them beheaded for the disgrace they had brought on themselves and their Prince, in permitting themselves to be disarmed by foreigners. It was said the Prince had a pique against

his officer, and was not sorry thus to avenge himself; but be this as it may, the men lost their heads, and were decapitated just outside of Nagasaki, where the Tycoon's jurisdiction ceases. An imperial passport will not secure an intruder's life, and each one of these Barons is capable of giving the answer Hugh Capet provoked, by reminding a disobedient vassal of his duties, and asking, 'who made him count?' 'Who made you king?' was the defiant reply. And therefore, to keep such bold and independent lords in some subjection, Taico Sama insisted on their spending six months of every year in his capital at Yeddo, where they would be under his jurisdiction (though limited, even within his moated city); and when they returned to their territories he kept their wives and children hostages. Thus it seems a farther pleasant state of mutual love and confidence must be perpetuated between the rival powers, hereditary Tycoon and hereditary feudal chiefs or princes. And thus is explained the enormous extent of the official quarters of the city within a double enceinte of glacis, wall and moat; and whole streets with moated houses, displaying a frontage of a thousand feet or more. These form, as already explained, an outer screen to a large courtyard, furnishing ranges of apartments for retainers and their families, while fine and massive-looking gates of bronze and wood, with high roofs and armorial bearings, mark those which are the property of the Daimios or higher class of nobles. Nothing perhaps is more striking to the eye of a stranger on first penetrating through the commercial part of the city into the official quarter, than the vast dimensions of all these residences of the feudal princes. Many of the streets are at least a hundred feet wide; the fronts of houses,—that is, the one-storied range of courtyard buildings,—sometimes extend nearly a quarter of a mile;—and behind lies garden and parade grounds, while beautiful timber can be seen towering above, giving a semi-regal air to the whole quarter. No business is ever seen here. Nothing but retainers are ever visible, often with bow and arrows slung, and all with the armorial

cognisance of their masters worked on the back and sleeves of their tunic. Occasionally a guard may be met with musket and bayonet, which, if they did not come from European workshops, would to all appearance have done the best no discredit. But they are all, I have been informed, of Dutch manufacture. One would think a score or two of these great hereditary chiefs, princes in their own right, each with five or ten thousand armed retainers within his townhouse and grounds, would be but dangerous guests to the Tycoon, brought as they are under durance, or at least compulsion, by the ruling power, to eat their substance, away from their estates and sources of revenue. Still this same arrangement of check and counter-check has been in existence for many generations, without, it would seem, any serious attempt to overthrow the governmental system. Perhaps this is to be explained by the fact, already referred to, that power has passed in no small degree from the Tycoon's hands, as it formerly did from the Mikados,—and now resides chiefly in an executive Council of State, consisting of five ministers, and these again held in no small check, if not in subservience, by the Daimios and Feudal chiefs of the higher order, amounting to some 360. Although these do not actually form a chamber of lords, nor assemble in a body at stated periods, nothing legislative, it is said, can be done without their assent obtained, after they have been convened to meet and deliberate. It does not appear that they interfere overtly with the executive rule of the empire, it being recognised as the proper business of the Tycoon and his council of ministers to apply, and cause to be respected, all *existing* laws and customs. They hold themselves too high to demean themselves by taking part in the administration, or holding office under the Tycoon. But neither the Tycoon nor the ministers, separately or collectively, can venture upon a change in these laws and customs without their sanction, and a farther confirmation by the phantom sovereign of Miaco, who, shut up for life within its garden walls, is occasionally recalled to

a consciousness of an outer world, by being required to give his authority for some legislative action or fundamental change of which he can know nothing. I do not hear that it was ever refused, until this recent affair of the treaties; why should it be? What can it matter to him, poor recluse, how they govern or misgovern an empire only in mockery called his?

In the meantime, between the Mikado who nominally wields the sceptre, — the Tycoon a youth who no less nominally governs the kingdom, and is but fourth in rank in the Japanese red book, for three of the Mikado's officers take precedence, — and the Daimios great and small—those with a million kokous * of rice for their territorial revenue, and those with 50,000 and less, who are only nominally feudatories — the administrative machinery of the realm seems to be kept in working order! And this, whether Tycoons die peaceably in their beds (on their mats it should be written), or by the hand of a conspirator. Along the broad ramparts of the moated enceinte within which the Tycoon, by a strange retributive justice, as has been remarked, seems in these days quite as much a cypher and a prisoner as the virtually deposed Mikados, these ruling classes may be studied any day, in their outer lineaments at least. They are often to be seen, either on horseback or in norimon, going or returning to the Tycoon's palace. First approaches a kind of standard-bearer, with a tall staff or lance, or it may be two or three, pointed in steel, and with something not unlike a fleur-de-lis covering the blade,† as an emblem of rank and authority: these vary in form according to the dignity. Then a caparisoned horse, led by two grooms; a squad of retainers, with the armorial bearings of their lord em-

* A measure equivalent to about 100 lbs., and valued on an average at from ten to twelve itziboos (say fifteen shillings). In the Appendix will be found a tabular list of the Daimios and their respective revenues, capitals, &c.; also a translation of the Yeddo red book of the government and administrative hierarchy of the Tycoon's government. See Appendix E.

† Another custom showing the dangerous elements it must have contained at some former period, if not now, is that of never appearing with any bared weapon, spear or sword—that being held to be a declaration of war.

broidered on their back and sleeves follows; and the great man himself, seated, or rather doubled up, in his norimon, comes next, with officers on each side. After the great man, come bearers of covers for his norimon, if it should rain; trunks with his wardrobe, should he wish to change; a large umbrella, if it should chance to rain, —occasionally more led horses and a few attendants on horseback, and then a detachment of archers, matchlock men, and inferior followers with one sword only. And so passes on his way the Daimio, meditating, it may well be, on the sudden and strange revolution in his country, which has brought the foreigner once more to the Japanese shores, and even into the streets and thoroughfares of the capital — with the laws of Gongen Sama, the great founder of the existing dynasty, still denouncing as high treason, with death for the penalty, any one harbouring a foreigner within the dominions of the Tycoon,—and still enjoining all good and loyal subjects to slay and exterminate any of the hated race who may ever venture to desecrate the sacred soil of Nipon by their presence! This law, it is very certain, has never been repealed; and by it we are outlaws in the land. Any-one may slay us, therefore, and plead in justification one of the statute laws of the empire! A curious state of affairs this, where a large class of nobles and retainers dwell, side by side with foreigners whom they hate. What but murders and butcheries can possibly come of such a state of things? It must be quite evident that either the relative status of the foreigner and the armed classes must be altered; or we shall be compelled to abandon the capital, and accept a wholly different position in the country, to that which was stipulated for by existing treaties.

CHAPTER XI.

FIRST BLOODSHED — ARRIVAL OF COUNT MOURAVIEFF AMOORSKY WITH A RUSSIAN SQUADRON — AN OFFICER AND TWO OF THE SAILORS BUTCHERED IN THE STREETS OF YOKOHAMA — EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY AND EASTERN POLICY.

THE British and American Legations had been established in Yeddo some six weeks—left to themselves, as I have said, to make their way as they best could, without a pendant of either nation in the Japanese waters, when Count Mouravieff Amoorsky arrived with a squadron of ten vessels. As Governor-General of Siberia, and the territories recently torn from the Chinese in Manchouria, he was supposed to have paid a visit to Yeddo for the purpose of settling the joint occupation of Sagalien, a large island off the Manchourian coast, hitherto in the joint occupation of Chinese and Japanese.

Previous to this arrival affairs had been going on, if not very satisfactorily, at least with no more serious difficulties than might perhaps have been reasonably anticipated with an Eastern people, and a government so long isolated from the rest of the world.

The currency question, after a long struggle, had ended in the Japanese Government giving way, and withdrawing for the present the obnoxious new coin. The Consuls were located at Kanagawa, and a right of road had been secured under a system of passports. Even as regarded a site at Kanagawa for the merchants, there were not wanting indications, that on this point also the government was prepared to yield.

To counterbalance these material advantages gained, a

good deal of hostile feeling seemed ready for manifestation whenever occasion served. Mr. Heuskin, the Secretary of the American Legation, had been more than once assaulted by some of the *Samourai*, or two-sworded retainers of the Daimios; — and he had been repeatedly mobbed and molested, when attempting to pass through a populous quarter of the city, near to the celebrated *Nipon Bas* — a bridge across a river from whence all the statute measurements on the road, from one end of the empire to the other, are taken.

Various minor acts of rudeness and insult had also fallen to the share of the British Legation. But as regarded the mobbing and pelting, I made a vigorous protest on August 9 of this year (1859); declaring that the Japanese Government would be held responsible if they permitted such hostile acts on the part of the populace. The concluding paragraphs so perfectly describe our actual position at the time that I cannot do better than transcribe them: —

'Finally, I come to the state of affairs here — at the capital and seat of government. Two Foreign Representatives only are here, with half-a-dozen gentlemen attached to their Missions. They have been sent in accordance with treaties, and have trusted themselves alone in the midst of a vast population, without ships of war, or other protection than the loyalty and good faith of that government, and the presumed respect of Japanese people for their own laws, and the mutual obligations of States.

'Do your Excellencies know how this confidence on our part has been met? No officer of the Missions of either country, Great Britain or the United States, can walk out of their official residence without risk of rudeness, offence, and latterly — more especially latterly — violence of the most wanton and determined character. Stones are thrown, blows are struck, swords are drawn on gentlemen passing along the great thoroughfares inoffensively and peaceably, offering neither offence nor provocation to any one. I hear that a few days ago the American Secretary of Legation, Mr. Heuskin, was attacked deliberately, and struck a violent

blow while slowly walking his horse on the road; and this not by a coolie, or even a drunkard, as far as could be observed, but one of "those officers bearing swords." A day or two later, I further hear, he and the Consul of Holland, who was in his company, were assailed in the centre of the town, and in open day, with stones; and not by idle boys—not by one, but hundreds of men—not for a moment either, but persistently for a considerable time, two officials being present at the time, and stirring no hand to put a stop to such an outrage. My own staff have complained to me of insolence and rudeness experienced in their walks, and not always from common people, but officers; and sometimes stones have been thrown, without the shadow of a pretext, by provocation or offence, offered on their part; on the contrary, it is always from behind their assailants come. It appears they do not deem it inconsistent with a reputation for courage to attack perfectly inoffensive and unarmed strangers walking alone in their streets (under safeguard only of the good disposition of the population, and the laws of their country), and think it no disparagement to their courage, and no evidence of cowardice, to steal from behind to throw these missiles, or, backed by a crowd, to attack by dozens a single stranger.

'These outrages can only be considered as a reproach and a scandal to any city where all the powers of a government are concentrated and available for the maintenance of order. I pray your Excellencies to allow me for a moment to draw your serious attention to some leading facts connected with such acts, if not the inferences to which they lead. This demeanour of the population was not observable on the first arrival of the Foreign Missions last month; they have gradually become more noticeable; while latterly, each day seems to bring a new instance, with accession of violence and aggravating circumstances.

'Whence is this? As regards my own Mission I can vouch for the absence of all pretext or shadow of justifi-

cation, even in their demeanour, for any display either of ill-will or offensive conduct. I feel scarcely less certain that no just provocation has been received from the American Mission. I have said that in the beginning such action on the part of officers and populace alike did not exist; and in saying so, I do not overlook the fact that in all large cities there will be idle and ill-conditioned people about the thoroughfares, disorderly boys who will follow and sometimes hoot at foreigners, or idly throw a stone. These things may happen everywhere, and in most civilised states; nor to such instances as these have I ever thought it necessary to draw your attention: but there is this notable difference between these continued and reiterated acts of aggression directed against the five or six individuals forming two diplomatic Missions (who must be very generally known to be the only foreign residents at Yeddo), and what might take place in any city of Europe —viz., that such public display of violence could not take place, without its being the duty of certain public officers charged with the maintenance of the peace to interfere and put a stop to it, and apprehend some at least of the most prominent offenders, who would in that case be certainly and severely punished for their violation of the law. Secondly, that if any officer, or civilian even of respectability, saw such disgraceful conduct towards inoffensive strangers, they would of their own accord interfere to prevent its continuance, and secure if possible the apprehension of some of the assailants. And they would be held disgraced in public opinion, if they failed to do so, much more if they stood by, encouraging such ruffianly violence; while any officer or public functionary so acting, could hardly escape, on complaint, if not without it, the punishment due to his conduct. If any such instances of unprovoked and unpunished violence offered to inoffensive foreigners ever occur in European States, there is no one who does not know that they are the exceptions, not the rule; and the occurrence of one is quite sufficient to move the government or municipal

authorities to more strenuous efforts to provide against the possibility of a recurrence of the same acts with like impunity.

'In all these essential points I am obliged to conclude the inhabitants and officers of Yeddo differ from the functionaries and populations of every other city in the civilised world. I say it with regret, but the facts compel me to adopt this conclusion. Day after day these insults and outrages are offered to five or six individuals; they increase in frequency and violence: no functionary interferes. Officers are sometimes the assailants, and oftener still, either passive or encouraging spectators.

'With all this going on almost under the walls of the Tycoon's palace — and the Representatives of two of the Great Powers of the West subjected to daily insult in the persons of those attached to them, and liable to the same treatment in their own persons — neither the Japanese Government, nor the functionaries charged with the maintenance of the laws and good order in the city give sign of life. No steps are taken, to all appearance, to prevent the continual recurrence of these scenes of disgraceful violence, by the direct and timely intervention of the proper authorities on the spot. No public proclamation is issued to warn the inhabitants of the penalties of such conduct, and prohibit it in the name of the law and the Government. No authoritative act appears, insisting upon the respect and consideration due to foreigners coming as guests in the midst of this population,—to the Representatives of Foreign Powers entitled, by treaty and universal custom, not only to perfect immunity from every description of wrong, but to respect and consideration.

'I will not tell your Excellencies what are the natural and legitimate inferences to be drawn from all the facts I have been reluctantly compelled on this occasion to bring under your serious notice; but I am bound to state that if the Japanese Government desired to make the treaties, so formally entered into a short year ago with Foreign Powers, null and void of effect, without actually declaring

such to be their intention; to make trade impossible by vexatious impediments, delays, and changes of currency; and, finally, to render the residence of Diplomatic agents in Yeddo either untenable or dangerous to life, with all the risks of misunderstandings, demands for redress backed by power, and risks of collision — deplorable in all circumstances — and grave complications of national interests with it; it would be difficult, I conceive, to devise any system better calculated to effect this end, whether I regard that which has been done and openly permitted, or that which has neither been done nor attempted, to avert the worst consequences.

'I deeply regret to have to make such serious representations to your Excellencies, on matters, too, involving our national relations with Japan. I have it very earnestly at heart to avert consequences I too clearly foresee will follow, if prompt and efficacious means be not taken to that end. It is the desire of my Government, and the interest of Great Britain, to be at peace with all nations, and cultivate only the best relations: but it is not permitted to any nation with large interests at stake, and national honour to defend, to shrink from the due maintenance of its treaty rights; and least of all can Great Britain allow them to be trampled under foot, here or elsewhere. I am, therefore, acting strictly and simply in accordance with my instructions in taking the only step which appears calculated to prevent any interruption to the good understanding and friendly intercourse it was the object of the treaty to establish and maintain inviolate, by calling the attention of the Government of Japan, through your Excellencies, to the imperative necessity for the vigorous adoption of measures which shall render such frequent and grave causes of complaint impossible; and allow the treaty to take effect, by the removal of obstacles for which the Japanese Government must, unavoidably, be responsible.'

This undoubtedly had its effect, for, although the ministers disclaimed all knowledge of the parties offending,

and denied their power to prevent such popular demonstrations;—I rode through this quarter a week later, and several miles on the other side, and not a hand or voice was raised against me; nor have such scenes ever been renewed since. If the Government had nothing to do with this sudden cessation of such hostile acts, it was certainly a very strange coincidence that, so immediately after an energetic remonstrance, they ceased altogether and permanently.

Count Mouravieff took up his residence at a large temple, having landed with a guard of 300 men fully armed and equipped. Shortly afterwards I heard that some of his officers, in walking through the city, had been annoyed and insulted; and one morning he came to breakfast with me, arriving late, and looking as if something untoward had occurred. In a few moments he told me, he had just received some deplorable intelligence from Kanagawa. An officer, with a sailor and a steward of one of the Russian ships, had been on shore about 8 o'clock the previous evening to buy some provisions, and on their way to the boat, close to the principal street, in which many of the shops were still open, the party was suddenly set upon by some armed Japanese, and hewn down with the most ghastly wounds that could be inflicted. The steward, though mortally wounded it was feared, still lived, having, after the first onset, succeeded in rushing into a shop. The other two were left in a pool of blood, the flesh hanging in large masses from their bodies and limbs. The sailor was cleft through his skull to the nostrils, half the scalp sliced down and one arm nearly severed from the shoulder through the joint. The officer was equally mangled, his lungs protruding from a sabre gash across the body; the thighs and legs deeply gashed. The ruffians, it appears, were not content with simply killing, but must have taken pleasure in cutting them to pieces. All three, unfortunately, were unarmed; but numbers of people were either in sight or in the close vicinity. Was it, then,

a mere highway robbery with murder as an accompaniment, or was it an act of hatred and revenge? It is said that one or more officials had been dismissed, on the complaint of General Mouravieff,—for insults offered to some of his own officers a day or two before. This seemed to offer a possible clue to the assassins, but nothing had been heard of them.

This first deed of blood took every one by surprise, for although, as I have recorded, there were not wanting evidences of hostility somewhere — believed more especially to have its origin in Yeddo among the Daimios and their armed retainers — it had hitherto only manifested itself by acts of rudeness and insult, or the turbulence of a mob. Here, without the slightest provocation, and away from the capital, three unfortunate men had been set upon and butchered in the most savage manner. What was the motive, and who were the perpetrators? It was difficult to imagine they could be common highwaymen and robbers—'*Lonins*,' as brigands are called in this country, including all the criminal classes who have no fixed abode, employment, or lord,— disbanded soldiers, disgraced and unclassed retainers of the Daimios, deserters, &c. It is difficult to attribute the act to any of these for purposes of plunder;—because, although they did carry off a money-box the steward had with him, it was found on the road to Kanagawa. True, it contained only foreign coins, which they may have thought too dangerous property, and nearly useless to them after such a deed. It is believed that the parties had come down to Kanagawa from Yeddo. This is certain — by the depositions of the steward and of the officer, who did not expire until some of his companions had reached the spot — that one or more of the attacking party wore the two swords distinctive of an officer's rank in Japan. A sandal was left on the ground, which by its make proved the rank of the wearer to be above that of a coolie. A vest, too, had been torn off, but with no distinguishing badge or mark; and a piece of a broken sword was found by the

bodies — all useful means of tracing the assassins. But the Governor, when the British Acting Consul went to him at four o'clock in the morning, on being informed of what had happened, treated the whole matter with a kind of brutal levity (such, at least, was the impression he gave), and there was little hope of justice from such authority. They were not mere highwaymen, however; because the manner in which the murdered men were slashed and nearly dismembered, indicated more than a mere desire to disable or kill. There was something savage and vindictive, indicating personal or political feeling, in the number and nature of the wounds. On the other hand, if it had some ulterior or political design of intimidation addressed to all the Foreigners, surely none in high places would have chosen this particular moment,—when, by a rare chance, there was a powerful foreign squadron in the bay of the nation to which the victims belonged, and a chief in Count Mouravieff, who could land an army on their territory from the neighbouring coast if he pleased, in a shorter period than could any other foreign representative or government. But it was precisely on account of this, according to popular rumour, that the deed was done, and his men were singled out. In the troubles consequent on the last American treaty, Prince Mito, as I have already explained, was exiled by the Regent, *Ikamono-no-kami*, whose own tragic end was not yet foreshadowed. Since that period the prince had been left under a species of surveillance, chafing under the loss of power and the failure of his projects. Having yet a large body of officers and retainers devoted to him as their feudal chief,—it was supposed he had now taken this means of bringing the existing government, and its real chief the Regent, into collision with a foreign Power; hoping in the confusion to recover his position, and perhaps seize upon the reins of power as Tycoon.

Another account, already referred to, represented it as an act of personal revenge directed indiscriminately against any Russians that might come in their way, in order to avenge the disgrace of an official, which Count

Mouravieff had insisted upon, as a satisfaction for some violence or insult offered to a party of his officers in Yeddo.

Of the real motives, or the actual perpetrators, nothing positive has ever been known. But no one believed that it was a mere case of highway robbery and murder. Count Mouravieff was pleased to confer with me as to the best steps to be taken, and the means of obtaining the punishment of all concerned in this atrocity; or, failing this, the means of exacting such satisfaction or reparation for the outrage as could be accepted, and might best deter the Government or the Daimios from recurring to such means of carrying out a policy of hostility and exclusion — if such, indeed, was the construction to be put upon this otherwise motiveless crime.

This involved many considerations, both of expediency and practicability. The news had only just been received of the repulse of both English and French forces at the Peiho — recoiling defeated from the Taku forts. It was not to be conceived that this would be without significance or influence on the minds of the Japanese rulers. True, I had myself announced the fact to the Government (preferring this to leaving it to less sure hands to bear intelligence which could not be kept secret), and had declared at the same time the certainty that, as soon as forces could be despatched from England or India, signal retribution would be exacted. Yet the check had actually taken place, and the retribution was future and contingent; and might well seem to them less certain than I represented it.

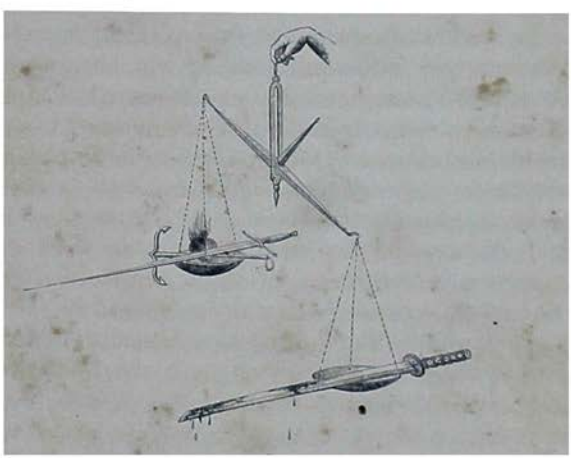
A few days later a drunken officer was brandishing one of the sabres they carry (a murderous weapon in any hands, with a powerful leverage of handle, and an edge like a razor), vowing he would have the head of a Russian. And what was done? He was evidently dangerous, and, after some delay, he was dragged down at a respectful distance by a long pole with a hook, and disarmed, but only to be sent about his business. It was impossible to disguise the fact that a hostile spirit of the worst kind was abroad; and to all remonstrances, the

Foreign Ministers quietly observed, that these acts of violence fully justified them in all they had urged upon the Plenipotentiaries negotiating, as to the dangerous character of the population in Yeddo, and the expediency of deferring the residence of any diplomatic agents for two or three years! It was, of course, easy, and it might be pleasant, for them to fulfil their own predictions of mischief; but would the contracting Powers allow their agents to be driven out of Yeddo by mob violence — their subjects to be murdered in the streets, and all trade made impossible? In the meantime this is what they menaced us with thus early; and the position of all the diplomatic agents at Yeddo was anything but secure, if not full of peril; — and boded ill for the possibility of any satisfactory relations being established. There was too much reason to believe that a powerful party among the hereditary Princes and Daimios were disposed to risk everything, rather than permit peaceable intercourse and good relations with European Powers to be established; and the late checks suffered by the allies at the Peiho, and the French in Cochin China,—with the war raging in Europe at the time, may all have tended to embolden them to make the effort without farther delay — to drive the Missions from the Capital, and all trade from its vicinity.

In the end, it was seen nothing could be done. To blockade the port and bombard the city, assuming it were in the Count's power to do either, gave little promise of better result. The first would have the immediate effect of making both the Capital and port of Kanagawa untenable to Foreigners; — and the last was an extreme measure, likely to cost the lives of thousands of innocent and harmless people, without doing the least injury to those really concerned in the wrong. In this, Count Mouravieff seemed entirely to agree; and he finally took his departure a few days afterwards, having insisted upon certain 'high officers' going on board and making in person an apology on the part of the Government, which entered into an engagement to discover and punish the offenders by a given period. It was further stipulated

and agreed that the Governor of Kanagawa should be disgraced, and that they should build a mortuary chapel, and keep a guard in perpetuity on the spot. It was very characteristic, that this last condition was precisely the one they most resisted, as entailing on all posterity a great and endless expense!

And so ended the first of a long series of tragedies, with something very like a solemn farce; the apology and the promise were made, the chapel has been built, but of course nothing has ever been heard of the perpetrators, and the very Governor so disgraced was actually named, two years later, to proceed as one of the Tycoon's Envoys on a mission to the Treaty Powers in Europe—the Court of Russia among the rest: and it was only on my remonstrance that he was removed from the mission and another appointed in his place. The struggle had now commenced in earnest, and first blood had been shed — the struggle between European diplomacy, with protocols and the appliances of modern warfare in the background; — and Japanese policy, animated by a fierce spirit of national fanaticism and hostility to all innovation, backed by the assassin's steel and all the weapons of oriental treachery and ruthless cruelty.



CHAPTER XII.

IMPROVING PROSPECTS — AN OFFICIAL INTERVIEW WITH THE TWO MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS — RIDE HOME BY MOONLIGHT — HOW YEDDO APPEARS AFTER SUNSET.

JULY and August were gone, the first two months after my arrival; and however monotonously the time seemed to pass, day after day glided imperceptibly away. It is in these circumstances, that time in the retrospect always seems the shortest. With nothing to mark or distinguish one day from another, (one day and night being the exact counterpart of the other,) the mind refuses to take account of the unvarying succession; and the memory finds nothing prominent whereon to attach a record. The days themselves may seem long, with nothing to break the dull flow of the unrippled stream, while we are living through each one; — but on looking back we find it impossible to say whether ten or twenty have passed along the same smooth way, leaving no foot-print or water-mark on the shores. In travelling,—where each hour brings new scenes, new people and things, while events are crowded into small space,—or in the excitement of active life, where every day is filled with the record of hopes or fears, successes or failures, work achieved, designs advanced, or retarded by adverse conditions, — the mind is incessantly on the stretch between the conception and the birth of new projects—and refuses to accept a mere calendar measure of time. We have lived ten days or months in one,—counting, as the mind ever does, by epochs, made out of sensations and events; and how-

ever rapid the passage of each day, when filled to the brim with thoughts and deeds, — in the retrospect a month expands into space and time without definite limit!

Our only incident at this period was the appearance of the cholera. I returned from the American Legation on the evening of the 29th of August, bringing the unpleasant tidings,—and the next morning I awoke to find myself in its fell grip. The attack was sharp but short, and my actual danger was over in a few hours, but I did not feel quite well for some time after; and all the other members of the establishment had attacks more or less severe in character. Fortunately no life was lost, and in the meantime the hot season was passing rapidly away, and in another fortnight or three weeks we might expect cool days as well as nights. The heat, however, out of the sun, was never excessive; the highest range of the thermometer in the house was only 86°, and its ordinary pitch in mid-day was 80°, while the evenings always became cool and pleasant; there had been not more than two or three nights when the temperature could interfere with sleep—lying under mosquito curtains without bed-covering.

The political atmosphere seemed clearing. The day I was laid up with the cholera one of the Governors of Foreign Affairs paid a visit, apparently a call of friendly courtesy or cajolery — for he proposed that, at any time I liked, he would accompany me to see some of the more curious temples—make water parties, &c. This was quite a novel proposition, for hitherto they had only seemed anxious to keep Foreigners out of the streets, and within the four walls of their official residences. He proposed that jugglers should be sent for to amuse me, and the next day sent again to ask after my health! The same comedy was acted with the American Minister. However, it was all received courteously — of course, for as much as it was worth only, but I looked upon it as significant of some anxiety on their part as to the state of their relations. Count Mouravieff had, no doubt, made very energetic remonstrances against the manifest laxity of Government

and officials which allowed Foreigners to be repeatedly stoned and mobbed without interference, and some of his own people finally murdered within a few steps of open shops, and in sight of the *Otono*, or head man of the ward; — who declared that, hearing blows in the street opposite, and seeing through the darkness two Russians fall, 'he called his assistants to light the lanterns, and when all were ready sallied out,' to find two Foreigners weltering in their blood, nearly hacked to pieces and one already dead: the murderers clear off—of course. Upon which he sent to his superior officers, and waited orders, not even lifting the dying officer from the road! The removal of the Governor and the Otono, it is true, was the only redress obtainable; but the Government spared no effort to remove from the Count's mind any impression he may have had, either of their complicity, or their unwillingness to give the fullest redress, by the seizure and execution of the offenders, — if they could be found. Unless they were the protected retainers of a Daimio indeed, this would cost them little; life is not set at a high value, either by Japanese laws or customs. About this time Mr. Cowan, one of the Consulate interpreters, was on his way up from Kanagawa, and, just before reaching the gates of the Legation, he saw an evidence of this which seemed to have turned him sick. Three gory heads were stuck in a bed of clay on a pedestal by the roadside, with the eyes open in the fixed stare of death. I could not find out to whom they had belonged, or for what crime their owners had been condemned. But a theft of any sum above forty kobangs is death, and even repeated petty larcenies have the same penalty attached. Here is an original sentence forwarded to the Consul in an official letter:—

To F. Howard Vyse, Esq.

KIHI!

Vagabond in the village Idrocmigawa.

You have, while in the service of the English merchant

Telge, stolen 300 rio, in his absence, which were kept in an unlocked box.

As this is a great offence, you are sentenced to be beheaded.

KISKÉ!

In the village of Ioci u Mocra.

During the time you were in the service of Telge, an English merchant, residing in Yoku-hama, your fellow-merchant Kihí stole his money; although you were ignorant of this, it is declared unlawful that you fled with him when asked to do so, and suspicious that you allowed him to pay your expenses for lodging, food, and drink, while travelling with him for many days.

You shall be whipped and banished.

The above two sentences having been passed, the remainder of the stolen money, 284 rio, 17 tempos, and 80 cash, is kept at your disposal. I desire you may communicate the above sentences to Telge, and hand him the money, for which I beg him to give a receipt.

Proposed with respect.

The 11th day of the 4th month. (June 1, 1860.)

(Signed) TAKIMOTO DZOERIONOKAMI.

Other signs of improvement were not wanting. When we went abroad, the ward constables with their jingling staves instantly turned out, and so escorted us from street to street, relieved at each gate. Mr. Heusken, the interpreter to the United States' Legation, went on horseback to his old haunt, the populous quarter about the Nipon-bas or central bridge; where he had been so often assailed and mobbed, and found himself well guarded, and not an idle boy seemed to have a look, much less a stone to throw at him.

One day in September, a two hours' procession through the commercial and official cities in Norimons brought me to the residence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and another two hours, spent in discussing a great variety of pending matters, were required to set me

free to mount my horse, and return by moonlight — and lantern-light combined — with a noisy accompaniment of jingling staves, to an eight o'clock dinner.

NIGHT SCENE — (*From a Japanese woodcut.*)

I should like to attempt a description of the whole from beginning to end — procession, interview, and return by night to the temple of Tozenjee, where the British Legation was provisionally located — a brief chapter in Yeddo life, during which glimpses are obtained of a thousand things connected with the habits and character of the Japanese, in their relations with each other, in their political system, and social institutions;—while the interview itself brings out in strong relief the conflict between the heterogeneous elements of two different phases of civilisation, each marked by a state of feeling and of ethics equally fixed, and sometimes perfectly irreconcileable. Japanese imperialism and nationality, feudalism, and the whole political and social system, by which the people are not only governed but influenced in their developement — all form a study full of interest in a philosophical as well as an international point of view.

The Norimons are at the door — suspended cages,

already described as something like a large baby-house, with roof and side doors, and cushions, and shelves, and windows. The sturdy Norimon-bearers wear a loose tunic of cotton, descending nearly to their heels, but when engaged in carrying, especially if it be a person of importance, the skirts are tucked up by the waistband, and the lower limbs and body, to the waist nearly, left bare and free — in token of the urgent business on which they are engaged — like the Jews of old, who 'girded up their loins' in somewhat similar guise, very possibly, when preparing for a journey or for energetic action. Thus equipped, the arms of their master stamped or embroidered on the back and on each arm, they bend under the great projecting beam and raise it on their shoulders, the bottom of the Norimon being then about a foot only above the ground. They make no cry or sound such as the Chinese chair-bearers or Indian palanquin-men, but step out with a tolerably smooth steady pace, at the rate of some three miles an hour. Japanese ideas of dignity are opposed to all haste, and accordingly, with a spear carried in front to which the British flag is attached, and half a dozen Japanese armed with swords as a body-guard, reinforced by a squad of Japanese officials and officers sent by the authorities to accompany me, the procession winds slowly along. My horse is led by a groom, saddled and ready to mount in case of accident to the Norimon; such being the order and theory of travelling in Japan. A great Daimio will sometimes be followed by two or three led horses, but only a very poor noble is ever supposed to ride — his poverty, not his will, consenting. Had I been a Japanese I should, in addition, have had half a dozen bearers carrying trunks, with changes of dress and other objects for my personal convenience, and as many officers and armed retainers in addition as might serve to mark a high officer's dignity — from fifty to five hundred, or more. As the cavalcade enters into the street, a couple of ward constables with ponderous iron rods, and jingling rings, making a loud

carillon each time they strike the ground with it, head the march, and announce the arrival of some one of rank, as an intimation to clear the road. These are exchanged at very short distances, on the entrance of every new ward, marked by a gate across the street or road, and a small guard-house. If it be a Daimio or Japanese of official rank, all the inhabitants are prohibited from standing up at the doors or windows to look at the great man, and persons passing are bound to stop and make lowly obeisance, or go down on their knees.* Amidst all these outward marks of profound respect and a servile state, every high officer of the Tycoon and every Daimio is accustomed to move. So wide indeed is the distance between the hereditary nobles and the mass of the population, and impassable the space dividing them, that the very existence of the plebeian seems unrecognised by the patrician in his lordly progress. And for that very reason there may be more real liberty among the mass of the people than we imagine. It has often been remarked that in the feudal ages of Europe, and under the most grinding despotism of crowned heads, both in ancient and modern times, when absolute power over the lives and property of all has been claimed as of Divine right; that the long submission of whole populations was to be explained by the fact that it was only rarely the violence of king or noble reached the peasant. Feudal princes and chiefs made war on and despoiled each other, and kings preyed upon nobles;—but it was only exceptionally that the weight of their ruthless hands was felt by the humbler classes. And not seldom, the head despot of all, made common cause with the people against the insolent power of the nobles, and appeared rather in the light of the protector, than the oppressor of either burgher or peasant. As the storm often strikes the highest trees, and leaves

* I have sometimes thought this custom may have originated as a measure of security against those very onslaughts of which we have had so many instances the last three years, where armed men have sprung upon high personages in the midst of their retinue.

the lowlier shrubs unscathed, so has it often been with the humbler classes,—their lowliness is their protection:—and being beneath the notice and attention of the great ones of the earth, save as instruments of labour, the most pregnant causes of revolution among the masses are wanting. So it may well be here in Japan, where we find reproduced, in its fullest vigour, the feudal and despotic conditions of a long-past age and order of society in Europe. The outward show of servility may be but skin deep, and the body of the industrial population, in town and country, may be left with a larger share of freedom and greater immunity from individual wrong, or meddling legislation brought to bear upon them by those who wield the chief power of the state,—than in many countries having the form and show of popular freedom and more democratic institutions. Many things which meet the eye and the ear tend to give this impression, but of course require verification before any deduction of this nature can be accepted as conclusively established.

We pass on along the great tocado; the people in the streets and shops, attracted by the jingling of the iron stave-men and a line of march, squat down on their heels, as is their manner, to get a peep into the Norimon. Men and women steaming in the bathing houses, raise themselves to the open bars of the lattice fronts to look out, the interior behind them presenting a view very faithfully represented in the following sketch by a native artist. In reference to which, I cannot help feeling there is some danger of doing great injustice to the womanhood of Japan, if we judge them by *our* rules of decency and modesty. Where there is no *sense* of immodesty, no consciousness of wrong doing, there is, or may be, a like absence of any sinful or depraving feeling. It is a custom of the country. Fathers, brothers, and husbands all sanction it — and from childhood the feeling must grow up, as effectually guarding them from self-reproach or shame, as their sisters in Europe in adopting low dresses in the ball-room, or any other generally adopted fashion

of garments or amusements. There is much in the usual appearance and expression of Japanese women to lead to this conclusion. Any one of the real performers in the

JAPANESE LADIES IN THE BATH

above scene — a bathing saturnalia as it may appear to us — when all is over and the toilette is completed, will leave the bath door a very picture of womanly reserve and modesty, as truly limned on the opposite page, looking as irreproachable as the best of her sex;— and far more so, both in look and carriage, than a great many of those who frequent the streets and public places of resort in London or Paris. Little nude children run a few steps forward to prolong their view, and boys and girls somewhat older compromise the matter of costume by a bit of printed calico hung from the waist, as a loose apron. Then black-teethed women, with mouths like open sepulchres, so dark and forbidding is the cavern they unlock, generally uncovered to the waist if in

summer time, and with a copper-coloured 'marmot' hanging to the breast, press forward for a sight at the shop doors, and rush down the wynds and passages which lead to the great thoroughfare. Tattooed work-

AFTER THE BATH

men and shopboys add to the throng; and swaggering among the groups are many of the two-sworded gentry, retainers of Daimios, subordinate officials, and military, all fully impressed with their own importance and superiority —as well as of the masters they serve, to the common plebs—making them the least safe or pleasant people in all Yeddo to meet.

But we are in Norimons, surrounded by servants, and for the moment out of the reach of the whole class of ruffian retainers and disorderly soldiers,—unless they resolve to make an onslaught. Mile after mile of streets has to be traversed, shops and tea houses and bathing establishments meeting the eye at every step along the

route. There is the Swan and Edgar's of Yeddo, with premises nearly as vast; and at least a hundred men and women waiting to attend the customers, and with deafening cries inviting the latter to step in and buy. The cleanly matted floor, raised some eighteen inches above the street, serves for an ample counter on which are spread the silks and gauzes and cottons before the purchasers. As in the sketch on the opposite page, the seller and the buyer both squatted on their hams and heels, or bending forward on their knees, examine the goods at leisure. Time,

A JAPANESE AT HIS TOILET FOR A VISIT OF CEREMONY

which is never an object of value in the East, or to an Eastern, — is very essential to any satisfactory dealings. The Japanese, like the Turks, rather prefer a chaffering customer, who, in spending his money, will also help them to dispose of the other commodity, which is apt to hang heavy on their hands, and be quite as difficult to get rid of — vacant hours. I have not gone deeply into Japanese silks, my knowledge of such wares being very slight, — but

I fancy their manufacturing skill is inferior, in some kinds at least, to that of Europe. They have both delicate colours and fabrics in gauze, however, which the Daimios and men of rank wear in summer, with projecting wings on the outer vest, giving something of the appearance, when they are in gala costume, of dragon flies.* Generally speaking, the shops make little show; the better class of goods are not commonly set out to attract the eye — nor could they be so without damage, when the whole shop is open to the street, with no glass to protect them from dust, or exposure to the damp. The crockery shops, toy shops, second-hand old iron and bronze shops, fruit shops, are exceptions; but little in these, at all tempting, ever meets the eye of a foreigner. The lacquer ware, ornaments, and similar articles, are always packed away, and generally to be unearthed only by diving into the back — or mounting a breakneck ladder to the loft over the shop. They are, perhaps, the neatest carpenters and cabinet-makers, and the best coopers in the world. Their tubs and baths and baskets are all perfect specimens of workmanship. But here we are on the Nipon-bas, the great central bridge of Nipon, flung across the river Okawa which traverses Yeddo. The population hereabouts is very dense, and has distinguished itself, as I have related, by repeatedly mobbing any luckless traveller who may have strayed so far. But there are no stones for us to-day, nor crowding and pressing. We are among those, for the hour, 'whom the king delighteth to honour,' and his officials lead the way. A more lamb-like or inoffensive assemblage of sight-seers could hardly be found all the world through; yet but a few weeks before, as we have seen, a member of the American Legation and the Dutch Consul, although on horseback, were driven back with the volley of stones that fell around them, denting their pith helmets, and covering the wearers with bruises!

At last we arrive at the residence of the senior of the

* See woodcut, p. 256.

Foreign Ministers, where the interview is to take place; glad enough,—for the sun at three o'clock in these latitudes is at its hottest, and the whole atmosphere is heated like the air of an oven, which the Norimon under the sun's rays by no means badly represents. Here we are set down, and having been disinterred, we pass through one of the great gateways already described into a spacious well-paved courtyard, scrupulously clean and well kept. Immediately opposite the entrance is the covered entrance to the dwelling of the Minister, where, under an ample peristyle, two superior attendants are in waiting to receive the guests. In the hall beyond, we find the interpreter Moriyama and two superior officers. We pass along a large matted passage or corridor with the usual paper windows on one side, and sliding panels on the other, —generally removed in summer, and giving entrance to a suite of rooms. Several Governors of Foreign Affairs are here in waiting to receive us — under-secretaries of state in their functions, and created expressly for the transaction of foreign affairs since the treaties. Finally, we gain an ante-room, which leads to a room of still larger dimensions opening on to a narrow court, and evidently the principal apartment of the residence, all neatly matted, with silk borders to each mat; these indeed constituting its usual furniture. There is a slightly raised dais at the end, and midway up the room the two Ministers stand to receive their guests. A grave and silent salutation is exchanged, and each party retires to opposite sides, where lacquer tables and chairs have been placed. The Ministers and the foreign visitors take their seats at the same moment. Moriyama the interpreter, barefooted, but otherwise with wings of gauze and surcoat like the rest, sinks on to his knees, with his head nearly touching the ground, in the vacant space between those on each side who will have to be the spokesmen. Behind the Ministers to the right, several attendants, in similar attitude, rest like statues on their knees and heels; a stand immediately behind receives the Ministers' two swords; and behind them both, in a row within easy speaking distance, are the

seven Governors of Foreign Affairs, often apparently filling the part so humorously described by Swift in 'Gulliver's Travels' as the 'Flappers' of the Ministers, to make them understand what they hear, or, at all events, explain its meaning, and sometimes suggest what to say in reply. These have no tables before them, and are seated on benches ranged along the wall on the ministerial side of the house. At the lower end, facing the passage, are groups of attendants resting on their heels, and silent as the grave.

We have time to look around us; nothing is hurried or precipitate here; scarcely will the first formalities have been exchanged ten minutes hence. We can scan every lineament of those present quite at our ease; only they have taken care to place us opposite the light, and themselves in shade with their back to it, so that we may rest assured they have the advantage of us, in any critical examination of expression or feature. While thus engaged, see, there comes gliding up the room, with noiseless step upon the matted floor, a troop of attendants bearing trays on the level of their chins, who reverently place on each of the four tables a tray, containing fire, pipes, and tobacco. Others bring two kinds of tea in lacquer cups; and all retire, as noiselessly as they came, in long procession.

The senior of the two Foreign Ministers at this time was a wizened ascetic-looking old man, with no great amount of intelligence in his countenance; one of the hereditary Daimios, though not of the most powerful class. He had been brought out of a voluntary retirement to put on the heavy chains of office; and he looked as if they were but little to his taste. One cannot help thinking he must have often wished, since the signing of the treaties last year, that he was safe back in his retreat, with monks for his only companions, and a chaplet to count for his chief occupation!

The other Minister recently appointed on the retirement from ill health of his predecessor, worn out it appears by the first year of foreign affairs, is younger looking and of

less ascetic countenance; a Daimio and a Kami also. He is new to office and intercourse with Foreigners. One would like to know what are his first impressions of them and the present state of affairs,—but you will seek in vain in that smooth hairless face for any information on these points.

But now the conference is opening, His Excellency has expressed his 'fears that you found the day warm, and the way very long; is glad to find you have survived both, did not die the other day of the cholera,—and are as well now as, the warmth of the weather and other circumstances considered, can well be expected!' You, in your turn, have had some fears that you had arrived after time; you hope that he had not suffered from the ominous visitation of the cholera; you regret that his colleague (whom you never saw but once) had been compelled to retire from ill health; and you finally trust that his new colleague may be able to support the fatigues of his onerous office, without injury to his health.

Much more of the same kind passes. At last the interpreters feel the real work is beginning. The foreign blood will not bear an infinite prolongation of nothings; and there is a steady plunge into deep water. The prologue is over, and the real play begins.

'The speaker wrote some days ago to know when a messenger could be despatched to the Governor of Neagata with instructions to facilitate the survey of the harbour by one of H.M's. ships.'

Flapper No. 1. suggests an answer shall be sent, and Minister replies accordingly.

'An answer had been received, omitting the essential, which requires but a word; *when* will the instructions and messenger be sent, and how soon arrive, that the Consul's letter may go by the same opportunity?'

Flappers consult, and Minister, duly prompted, answers, 'As soon as you send the letter,—it will arrive in seven days.'

'Good; it shall be sent to-morrow. Can no interpreter be found or spared?'

'Not possible.'

'Can instructions be given for the permission to survey other harbours if Neagata be found unfit?'

Much work of Flappers. Leave at last obtained for two other places, and names written down.

'A mail was delivered five days ago at Kanagawa to the interpreter at the Treasury, to be forwarded here, and has not yet been received.'

'The first Flapper had heard of it! Inquiry should be made;' and I may here mention that mail and man disappeared, and I have never been able to ascertain what became of either.

'Some one must be greatly to blame should he have disappeared; great inconvenience has resulted.'

'Inquiry should be made,' urged Flappers 2 and 3, and so speaks the Minister.

Another subject is broached. 'The Ministers have been good enough to place a set of officers and an interpreter, comprador, &c., at his orders, for which speaker is duly grateful. They are no doubt placed there as a mark of good-will, and for his protection. But among the number are certain ometskys (spies), a class of officials who can have nothing to do at the residence of a Foreign Representative.'

'Nothing with the Representative, but necessary to his protection, *to watch their own people.*'

'Their presence is nevertheless objectionable.' Great commotion among Flappers from one to seven.

'It is an institution of the country, and cannot be departed from.'

'But inside the Legation their presence is objectionable.'

'It is only to watch Japanese, for his protection.'

'But the results of this protection from ometskys, officers, and comprador, is a system of interference and extortion, which is both offensive and intolerable. Nothing can be bought at a fair price, and there have been many instances of direct efforts to compel tradesmen to add to their charges.'

'Inquiry must be made; if the officers have mis-

behaved, they can be changed.—But such things are impossible.'

'All interference between a Diplomatic Agent and the Japanese dealers, or with his servant, is objected to, and is, in point of fact, contrary to treaty stipulations.'

'Those only apply to the open ports. Of buying and selling and dealing with Japanese at Yeddo, nothing is said.'

'But it is stipulated for *all* British subjects that there shall be immunity from such official interference. And wherever any have the right to reside, there the treaty applies.'

'Only at the open ports; not at Yeddo.'

'Then, in point of fact, it is contended that such interference is a right on the part of the Japanese Government, which they are disposed to insist upon,—and a Diplomatic Agent cannot have a leg of pork put on his table without an official interference, one certain result of which is, that he pays double the proper price for it?'

'The interference is, on the contrary, to save him from imposition.'

'That is the theory; but after two months' experience of the practice, it has proved to be only an instrument of imposition and extortion, against the continuance of which the speaker protests.'

'Inquiry shall be made, and if ground of complaint be discovered, another comprador shall be sent.'

'But there is no occasion whatever for the services or interposition of the comprador. Speaker has his own servants, and must insist upon the removal of an official, whose sole employment is to levy black-mail on everything that comes into his house.'

Flappers are still of opinion that it is matter of inquiry.

'They may inquire as much as they please, but a distinct protest is now entered against the continuance of the whole system.'

The choice of a site at Kanagawa for foreign merchants to rent and build houses on; objections to the frequent

change of governors at the post, as detrimental to all despatch of business; the police of the city and better protection of foreigners; the issue of a proclamation and the publication of the treaty, are each successively touched upon, and more or less satisfactorily dealt with. The currency question, and coining of more itziboos is reserved for the last; and a step is finally made by an arrangement for the recoining of the merchants' dollars into itziboos at the rate of 16,000 of the latter daily. This closed the conference, long after sunset.

The horses are mounted, and the Norimons left to wend their way more slowly. The moon is up, and a fresh evening breeze makes the ride delightful through the high broad ways of the official quarters, skirting for some distance the moats. Once emerged into the city of shops and traffic, our friends with their jingling staves and lanterns pass us on from ward to ward. Some of the streets, before we get down to the lower level of the great tocado that winds along the edge of the bay, are narrow, partially dark, and crowded. My horse, Japanese though he be, does not half like the rattle of the staves and rings of the men in office, and the dogs will not get up out of his path — while little children, equally perversely, *will* run under his feet, to the great discomfort of both rider and horse. The streets are otherwise full of life and movement. People are wending to their homes or the bathing-houses, which, strongly lighted, show through their lattice bars and open doors a crowd of both sexes on opposite sides, with a mathematical line of separation. Gaily painted and figured lanterns are flitting to and fro, and light up, somewhat dimly, if truth must be told, the shops, the front where windows would be if in Europe. The tea-houses are filling, and the wild discords of what they call musical instruments is heard from many of the upper stories. Men and women both are wending their way homeward, for the streets are much too dark and unsafe to be much frequented after night fairly sets in. Everyone by law, as in China, is bound not to stir out after

dark without a lantern on which their name is painted. Now it is a mistress with her child and servant return-

FEMALE COSTUME

ing; or a solitary matron wending her solitary way, and her own lantern holder; or a public singer, with her

FEMALE DRESS MUSIC GIRL, WITH SERVANT CARRYING HER INSTRUMENT

servant carrying her instrument, is on her way to some tea-house to furnish out the evening amusement. The fronts of the houses are not all shut in yet, and every now and then there is a glimpse of an interior, showing the master already at his evening meal, faithfully waited upon by his wife, who, like Sarah in the tent, ever serves him

THE EVENING MEAL

as her lord, and regards him as her master despite of the matrimonial tie. A few tipsy one-sworded and two-sworded retainers are reeling homewards in noisy mirth. — And so wending our way, with scarce less clamour, of iron rings and staves and often changing attendants, we turn up the long avenue which leads to the Legation, and forms the entrance to the Temple of Tozengee.

THE BAY OF HAKODADI

CHAPTER XIII.

A VISIT TO HAKODADI — THE LEAD MINES — GOVERNOR — PROSPECTS OF TRADE — POTATOES AND SALMON THE GREAT STAPLES.

TOWARDS the end of September (1859), profiting by one of the few opportunities which present themselves in these latitudes for locomotion, I determined to pay a visit to the most northern of the open ports in Japan. Typhoons and equinoctial gales are apt to sweep through the Japanese seas about the change of the monsoons, in no gentle mood. A gale, however, had just blown itself out before I left,—always held the most favourable time for a start,—and we had only baffling winds, blowing from every point of the compass except the right one, to contend with. Some ten days were consumed in getting over the 600 miles which separate Yeddo from the port of Hakodadi, or Hakodate as it is more generally pronounced by the Japanese. But the longest voyage must come to an end as well as the longest lane, and Japan

is a country eminently adapted to teach this sort of practical philosophy. If the winds are baffling, and the currents, which you have been assured run thirty knots in your favour in the twenty-four hours, prove to be something stronger than that *against* your beat up the coast,—and are equally contrary when you return, it is merely the reiteration of the moral phenomena on shore, where nothing turns out as you have been led to expect it by previous travellers;—and nothing goes straight, unless it be the bravo's sword: while some under-current of traversing influences impedes your progress in whichever direction you desire to move. Perseverance, however, in both cases, brings its reward sooner or later; and they who have not this in their nature, and a stock of patience perfectly inexhaustible, will do well to go elsewhere than Japan.

Once entered the Bay of Hakodadi indeed, the reward begins, if, as happened to us, the sun is shining, and a few drifting clouds chequer with fleeting shadows the fine panorama of hills which encircle the port. Completely land-locked, easy of access, spacious enough for the largest navy to ride in, with deep water and good holding-ground, it is the realisation of all a sailor's dreams, as a harbour. Even to the artist and lover of the picturesque there is much to compensate a wearisome voyage. Many ranges of hills in graceful lines carry the eye far into the distance, and two remarkable peaks give the distinctive features of a volcanic formation, from one of which fire and smoke are perceptible in the night. The beauty of the shore, however, is of a severe kind, for there is little luxuriance of foliage. Here and there only a patch of pine, or a wider sweep of scrub, breaks the surface of the hills. But what tree and foliage fail to give, cloud and sunshine often effect to perfection, clothing all the mountain sides with purple and russet hues,—and giving a mantle of rich and ever-changing colours to the barest headlands and most distant ranges,—while junks and boats with their picturesque sails, are never wanting to give life and movement to the whole.

The town of Hakodadi is little better than a long fishing village, nestled round the foot of an island-like promontory, which forms the projecting headland at the eastern edge of the bay. Though on a somewhat smaller scale, it forcibly recalls to the mind Hongkong, with its northern exposure. Nor is it without some resemblance to Gibraltar, with a long strip of land which very well represents the neutral ground. Nature in the midst of all variety preserves a certain uniformity, and frequently seems to repeat herself. Whoever has travelled much in either hemisphere must often have been struck with the striking identity, not only of mountain, valley, and river, in different countries, but the similar combination of these in different quarters of the globe. The same uniformity amidst constant diversity, which seems to be the law of the human race in its leading characteristics, appears to be no less perfectly maintained in the physical conformation of the earth. There are shady lanes and trim hedges, with glimpses of wooded hill and cultivated valley at intervals, which render the environs of Yeddo so beautiful, that they might be transplanted to England without any violence to the harmony of the surrounding scenery. The cathedral spire or village church alone is wanting to maintain the general resemblance.

But Hakodadi, not Yeddo, must now occupy us. Let us land and see what it offers of novelty or interest. Unlike the shallow Bay of Yeddo, our boat goes freely up to the steps of the landing-place ;— an advantage only duly to be estimated after being punted a mile over the shallows, and another mile shunted or sleighed over the mud ! The high street of Hakodadi is within a few steps. The air is crisp, and a northerly wind is blowing, so that the nudities which first scare the European arriving at Nagasaki nowhere appear —unless in a large many-oared boat where the men strip for hard work, rising to the oar with a loud monotonous chant,—but wonderful to relate, pulling *towards* them as in Europe ! On shore, every man, woman, and child is well clothed, and protected from the

cold wind — some even enveloping both head and lower portion of the face in a muffler of printed calico, as represented in the drawing on the opposite page. The ordinary costume of the working classes is a large apron tucked round the waist for the women, and descending to the heels nearly (how they walk in such swathing bands is a mystery); and over all a dressing-gown, secured at the waist by a large band knotted behind, and more or less

FEMALE COSTUME

open in front. If it rains, an oil-paper cloak or a mat is flung over the shoulders of the men, and a huge basket hat (of many forms, some conical, others like a flat basket reversed) is tied to the head with chin-bands. Thus equipped, with wooden pattens which lift them six inches out of the mud, they trudge on in perfect independence of the elements. It is fine to-day, however, and all are walking either bare-footed or with sandals, most ingeniously retained by the great toe only, which is pushed through a loop: how they keep them on or manage to walk in them, is one of those things which, as Lord Dundreary would say, 'No fellow can find out!'

I think a broad street has a pleasant aspect always. There is a free circulation of air, of men, and of beasts; there is room enough for everybody and everything, an object we find it so difficult to secure in overstocked England. Elbow-room is one of the luxuries of this life, and the want of it on board ship is, to my fancy, not the least of the many disagreeables which makes travelling by sea so irksome. Hakodadi gives this one element of a pleasant life, in abundance. Thirty horsemen may ride abreast if they choose; and even the very houses seem to disdain to jostle each other. You are prepared to respect the owners of all such spacious streets, accordingly,—until, on farther examination, a general poverty in the construction of the houses, and an aspect of penury both in the interior and exterior, has the common effect of poverty in this sad world, of diminishing your esteem. Some of them lift their heads a little higher than their neighbours, and make pretensions to a second story, but it is a miserable attempt, a sorry attic only, and all below is open to the street, under a projecting roof and narrow verandah. Continuing your inspection, much as a prosperous trader eyes an unfortunate creditor who is each moment sinking lower in his estimation, you pause to inquire by what ingenious process the good people of Hakodadi have succeeded in making paving-stones do the duty of tiles on their roofs? As far as the eye can stretch, stones, nothing but stones, seem to cover the tops of the houses. It is as if a street had been unpaved, and all the materials transported to the roof, ready for assault or defence. By more minute attention, you may at last discover a thin layer of lath or shingle beneath, laid upon the rafters which support this wonderful agglomeration of pebbles and young boulders of all shapes and dimensions. Such a novel spectacle leads to reflection, and you involuntarily exclaim, 'What a windy land this must be to require such prodigious efforts to keep the roof from flying away; and what a dry climate,—for though stones may do very well for weights, one never heard of their

keeping out wet!' At last you meet a friendly interpreter, who answers the inquiry with which you are charged. 'These stones you marvel at so much are the cheapest means of keeping a roof over their heads; sometimes it blows very hard, and as thin layers of shingle are very light (but a great deal better than nothing), we take this mode of securing it.' To a farther question he answers, 'Ah, the rain? Yes, it does rain occasionally,—in the wet season for weeks, and often at other seasons very heavily,—and a good deal of water does run down between the stones; but we find a dry corner, and put up our umbrellas, and, besides, we have excellent oil-paper cloaks.' 'And your furniture?' 'Have you not been long enough in Japan to know our habits are too simple, for such useless and cumbrous appliances? Tables and chairs, which you Europeans, we are told, cannot manage to live without, are to us superfluities; our matting and quilts suffice for beds, bamboo or lacquer make our pillows; what else does man want? You build houses ten times as large as is necessary for your accommodation, and more than your income can keep up—so I heard from a Dutch friend at Nagasaki—merely that you may have room to stow away an endless succession of ugly square and oblong pieces of timber, tortured into various shapes and uses. We build houses to live in, not for ostentation and still less as store rooms for useless things—and think ourselves not behind you in wisdom!' Enlightened by this Japanese philosophy, I looked into their shops to see if their goods were of the same primitive and unsophisticated character, and found very little beyond the commonest articles of consumption. This is a population of fishermen; and the bay abounds in salmon, plaice, and various other fish. Almost every stall in the street was stocked with fine salmon, weighing from fifteen to twenty pounds, many of them still alive, at rates varying from half an itziboo to a whole one (from 9*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*). Unfortunately, they were not in season, being soft, and ready to spawn; but that seemed no impediment to their being

caught, and, it is to be presumed, eaten by the Japanese. Every second shop, almost, presented long rows of the same produce dried and salted, three for an itziboo, or sixpence each! A great quantity of potatoes—'real Irish potatoes,' as one of the interpreters assured me (of Irish extraction, he meant perhaps)—are grown here, to judge by their abundance and cheapness. In the town they are seventy-five cents or a dollar a picul (130 lbs.), but in the villages, I found they might be bought for a third of the sum, before the compradoric system,—especially adapted to the use of Foreigners,—had added its extortions and profits. Teal, three for an itziboo (or sixpence each), wild ducks, somewhat dearer, snipe, golden plover, all were there, and I was told, during the previous winter, that the crews of the whalers were chiefly fed upon deer and bear's flesh, as the cheapest meat. Think of that, ye epicures, and instead of a shooting or a fishing season in Norway with its hackneyed fjelds and fiords, come to Japan to catch salmon, hunt the deer, the boar, and the bear;—and if you like it, shoot pheasant, snipe, teal, and wild-fowl without stint. It is rather far off, it is true—some sixty odd days—but then think of the game and the novelty—to say nothing of the chance of being becarved by two-sworded Samourai, in pursuit of *their* game. One would expect fur and skins to be abundant; and so they are, but unfortunately the Japanese do not understand dressing them, and are far inferior to the Chinese in this art. I saw some noble bear-skins priced at about 1*l.* sterling. Sea-otter skins of a finer quality I also saw, but from 3*l.* to 5*l.* each were asked. Great quantities of deer-skins and horns were in the market. Some of the former made into soft leather, and stamped with not ungraceful patterns, seemed well fitted to make good coverings for chairs and couches; they were about a dollar apiece. Hides and deer-horns, with various kinds of furs, I should think, might ultimately become articles of export to a considerable extent.

Wandering on through a double line of open shops nearly

a mile long, it was soon evident that the bulk of the articles were such only as are required for daily consumption in food, clothing, and utensils, by a large but poor population. The town was said to contain about 6,000 inhabitants, and the island of Yeso only seems to contain one larger centre of commerce or population in *Matsumai*, a seaport some sixty miles along the coast, and said to contain 60,000 inhabitants. Here and there in the shops were some poor specimens of lacquer ware. Considerable stores of seaweed, sea-slug, dried mushrooms, and other delicacies suited to the taste of the Chinese and Japanese rice-eating populations, appear to exist here, and will probably form another class of exports from hence to China. Some silk fabrics were to be seen, of an inferior kind, and there is no want of Japanese printed calicoes. Sulphur from the neighbouring Loochoo Islands is spoken of as offering a chance of large and profitable trade; and there are lead mines within twenty miles, the property of the Government, which, if made available for foreign markets, would undoubtedly very soon create both a considerable and profitable trade. Of this I feel, however, there is little immediate prospect; to say nothing of their political economy, which denies the right and contests the wisdom of any one generation drawing more from the mineral productions of a country than suffices for its own wants,—lest the whole should be exhausted, and the interests of posterity sacrificed,—they seem yet in their infancy as to the adaptation of steam and other mechanical or scientific appliances for the profitable working of mines.

Wishing, however, to judge for myself, and also to take a long ride into the country, I went to these lead mines, of which I had heard so much. Mounted on a good little island pony, warranted to carry me thirty-five miles, the stated distance there and back, I took my way along the sea shore, after passing through the interminable high street of Hakodadi. At first the road was good, with sand-hills on either hand, and the blue waters of the bay

stretching away to the left; while in the farther distance, towering above several ranges of hills, appeared two peaked and cone-like mountains, looking as though they were covered with snow,—the reflection of the sun, probably, on some bare surface, or lava descending from the volcanic crater. From one of these at night there is a great glare from the apex of the cone.

Unlike the road to Yeddo, the traffic here is small. You meet no travellers, and only a few pack-horses laden with the produce of the neighbouring fields,—with charcoal from the woods, or lead from the mines. After continuing our ride eight or nine miles, we entered a considerable village and proceeded to a house of entertainment, to bait the horses and get some breakfast ourselves.

The host came with his gliding obeisance, sliding his hands down his knees as he bent his body at a right angle, desiring to know our wants. My companion, the Russian Consul, had not trusted too much to their powers of supplying a meal, and produced out of the groom's wallet cold teal, chicken, and mutton, a large case of Chinese tea already made, and good bread of Japanese flour, flanked by a bottle of sherry. What we wanted, therefore, was hot water, cups, hard-boiled eggs, and fire for the cigars; and these were speedily brought in, not by a bright-eyed houri, but by a shrill-voiced little urchin, who squinted abominably.

In the course of the repast, one or two of the gentler sex, with teeth as black as ebony, favoured us with their company—and an inspection as we lay stretched on the mats. Presently our host, not seeing, I suppose, how a good bill was to be made out of hard eggs and hot water, brought in a tray of small dishes,—and tried to tempt us with a huge salmon that did not look over fresh. He took our refusal to be seduced, however, very good-humouredly; and although we returned in the evening to make another similar meal, was well content with two itziboos (three shillings), having gently hinted that one and a half would do,—and saw us blandly out of the door with a

salutation. Clear proof that we were far out of the beat of Japanese officials, and could make our own bargain!

Refreshed by our breakfast, we began to turn inland to the screen of hills which skirt the bay, and soon came upon some roads as bad as any '*caminha real*' in Spain. My horse's straw shoes having already been half shuffled off, were tripping him up at every step, and compelled me to dismount in order to get rid of them altogether. An Englishman riding with the fore-feet of his horse muffled in straw slippers, might furnish a subject for 'Punch.' I am happy to say that at both the Legations this absurdity has been got rid of, and means found of teaching the Japanese to shoe our horses properly with iron; and more than one of the Daimios, I was told, had followed the good example. A Japanese saddler employed by us for repairs, declared he could not do our work, he had such an extensive order for English saddles. I heard later, however, that the Daimio on pushing his sandalled foot into the stirrup found it very difficult to keep it there, and ended by anathematising the Foreign invention, and returning to the customs and saddlery of his ancestors.

But to return to the road. It had rained heavily in the night, and in the midst of a sea of mud were more solid rollers of earth,—in fact the best possible imitation on a large scale of a 'corduroy road.' I was excessively puzzled to make out by what process such an effect had been produced, until watching some horses before me, I saw the ruts on each side of these regular furrows exactly corresponded with the stride of each, and that every horse, within an inch, trod on the selfsame lines. Japanese ponies seem as well trained, therefore, as their masters, and tread in each other's footsteps with a persistence and closeness that never varies or fails. The traffic of the pack-horses was evidently great here—wood and charcoal from the hills often passed; and soon we ourselves entered into the mountain region, after skirting along a valley and fording a noisy Gave (as such a stream would be called in

the German hills). This operation was repeated three times, and as the river ran rapidly, with bad footing, and water to the pony's girths, it was not without a chance of a ducking. Striking soon into the heart of the wooded hills, and often crossing smaller tributary streams, we made our way along a narrow path, gradually ascending until we reached the foot of the hill containing the lead mines. The wild vine festooned many of the trees, and bore grapes black and sour;—the sycamore and the pine were there, and a great quantity of dwarf oak and scrub,—but scarcely any large timber. We mounted the hill-side by a rough and rather abrupt ascent, and soon came upon signs of the miners' occupation. A low range of houses, then a quantity of débris from a pit, a washing-house with troughs for the ore, a smelting-house (or hut rather), and, lastly, the mouth of an '*adit*,'—a horizontal gallery, leading into the heart of the hill. Being provided with an official order, a guide was immediately appointed, and putting on the coarse miner's dress, further armed with two dried bunches of bamboo as torches, we crept into the damp, dirty, dismal scene of the miners' labours. Having seriously endangered our skulls against the low roofs, and occasionally projecting beams (all the galleries were supported by timber), and plentifully imbibed through boots and stockings the water on the floors, we reached at last some of the points they were working at. No doubt this would be an excellent opportunity for expatiating very learnedly on all the scientific facts connected with the deposit of metal in the bowels of the earth, and all the theories proposed in explanation; but unfortunately, or fortunately, as others may judge, I make no pretensions to any extensive practical or scientific acquaintance with the subject, and shall content myself with saying, that it has all the appearance of possessing many rich veins; but the means and appliances of the Japanese are very primitive, and I presume they can only work as deep by shafts, as their adits, cut horizontally in the side of the hills at a lower point, shall enable them to effect drainage.

I found that the Governor, on the return of the party, was very anxious to learn whether the mode of working in Europe was greatly superior, and what improvements could be suggested? He was told we undoubtedly possessed great advantages in scientific knowledge and the use of steam-engines; but he gave no indication of a desire to resort to such means. And, indeed, if, as he alleged, they wanted all the produce of the mine for their own use, and that simply for bullets to practise fire-arms, either the produce must be marvellously small, or the consumption in ball-practice must be truly alarming —and European Powers should look to it!

I have little more to tell of Hakodadi. Whether its magnificent bay will ever see a fleet of merchantmen and a prosperous foreign trade, it would be bold in anyone to say at this moment. It is at present chiefly used by whalers. The year previous thirty called in, twenty-nine American and one French—no English. Sulphur, lead, and Chinese edibles, with furs and deer-horns, are at present all that offer, and these not in large quantities. But all must have a beginning, and everything was at its commencement here. The people seemed perfectly free from all trace of ill-will,—a simple and good-humoured race.*

I had to instal the British Consul, and anticipated some difficulty in his location, from the sheer want of accommodation in this town of 6,000 inhabitants. There were, in truth, but four temples. Two were in the occupation of the Russian Consul and his staff,—one had been given up to the American commercial agent,—and the fourth, and best incomparably, was getting ready for the second Governor, absent on a tour of inspection. No other

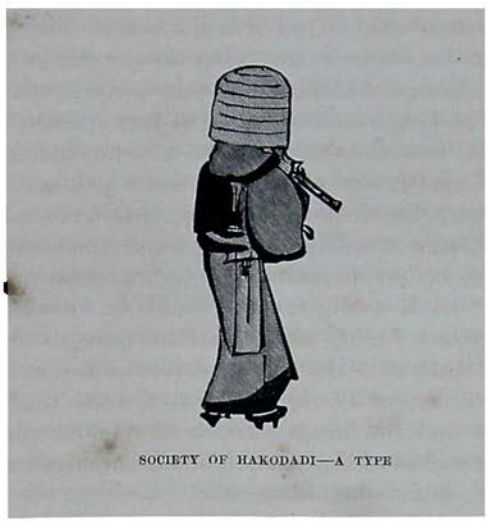
* Shortly before I left my post to return to Europe, I am sorry to say very unsatisfactory reports reached me from the acting Consul, of a manifest deterioration in this respect, plainly, as he thought, the work of the officials, —for no Daimios' retainers are there on whom to lay the blame. A British subject, an American, and a Russian, had at different periods been attacked with drawn swords, and one very severely wounded, by men in the employment of the Government.

building, public or private, existed in the place, that could be *made* to answer. This was certainly an awkward state of affairs! I could not leave a Consul with his wife and family without a habitation possessing some reasonable amount of accommodation. It is very true, my ideas of what *was* reasonable and the Governor's were likely to be very different, as he very delicately hinted the day I took leave of him, and in a way too characteristic to be forgotten. After all was settled, and the temple *had* been obtained, despite the seemingly insuperable obstacle of its having been appropriated to the use of the arriving Governor, the highest authority in the island, I rose to leave. The Governor then approached, and to my surprise took me by the hand, evidently wishing to lead me somewhere. Thus led, I followed him into a corridor at the back of the room where the interview had taken place; and to the left he showed me a little room —some nine feet by six — and said very quietly, 'This is where the new Governor will be accommodated when he arrives.' I felt the reproach it conveyed, and could only smile, apologetically observing, that 'Probably he had neither wife nor children with him; and above all, no four-post bedsteads and sofas, or dining-room tables, any one of which would fill up the whole room!' We parted excellent friends after this final passage of arms, and I often met him in the following year at Yeddo, as one of the Governors of Foreign Affairs. He was a fine old man, quiet and intelligent, and a very good specimen of the better class of Japanese officials employed in the high offices of the administration.

On the ninth day after my arrival, the temple for which so hard a battle had been fought was taken possession of; a fine flag-staff, with the assistance of the 'Highflyer's' men, was got up, and the Union Jack was hoisted with a royal salute from the squadron, to mark the first time the flag had floated over a British consulate in the port.

The next day H.M.S. 'Highflyer' steamed out of the harbour, to be followed in a brief interval by the other

two vessels; and the British Consul would then be left alone, with one British subject to govern — and only two American citizens, and a Russian Consul with his staff — for all society. I could not help thinking, the bay must look desolate enough, when no European ship is in its waters, and only half a dozen people of European extraction on shore! A functionary can hardly be much to be envied,—though a fortune and honours were at the end of a short term. As neither of them usually fall to the lot of British Consuls, I could only hope the Consul of Hakodadi might carry within him and about him — something to compensate such utter isolation and banishment in the prime of life.



SOCIETY OF HAKODADI—A TYPE

CHAPTER XIV.

MURDER OF FRENCH CONSUL'S SERVANT AT YOKOHAMA — THE GOLD CURRENCY QUESTION AGAIN — TYCOON'S PALACE BURNED DOWN — PROPOSITION OF JAPANESE MINISTERS TO STOP ALL OFFICIAL BUSINESS IN CONSEQUENCE.

I RETURNED near the end of October. No very stirring incident had occurred in my absence of nearly a month. The appearance of improvement in our prospects when I left, though unchanged during my absence, was unfortunately not of long duration. Early in November the foreign community at Yokohama were startled by a murderous and unprovoked attack upon the servant of one of their number, who at the time was officiating as vice-consul of France — a repetition, in all its chief features, of the foul murder perpetrated on the Russians. The servant was a Chinaman, but dressed very much like a foreigner, and it was thought might have been mistaken for one. He was attacked by a man with a drawn sword in the middle of the day, and close to the house of his master in the foreign settlement;— pursued some distance, and frightfully gashed before he gained the entrance of one of the Compounds. He lingered a few days, and then died; several of the wounds had laid open the cavities both of the chest and abdomen. Neither the murderer nor his motive were ever known—to the foreigners, at least—and no satisfaction could be obtained. Various matters, this among the rest, took me down to Kanagawa on November 11. I noted the date, because as I proceeded on my road I saw a great fire had broken out in Yeddo, and it proved to be the Tycoon's castle

that was lighting up the sky far and near, and sending up a dense column of smoke drifting before the wind. In the middle of the night I received a courier from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs to inform me of the event; and begging that no official communications might be sent, as they were in constant attendance on the Tycoon in consequence, and could not possibly enter into any business *for some time to come.*

The export of the gold currency had been carried on to such an extent by the foreigners, that the Government was becoming not only indignant at what they regarded as an outrageous act of spoliation, but seriously alarmed for the consequences in the utter impoverishment of the country. It was indeed the renewal of the old grief, when Portuguese and Spaniards in the first century of foreign intercourse awakened the fears of the then Rulers, and roused their indignation by shipping off all the gold bullion and currency of the country they could put their hands on. It was no doubt one of the principal causes of the determined hatred with which Taiko Sama and his successors pursued their policy of extermination and entire seclusion. We seemed threatened with a similar danger from precisely similar causes. It was long before I could persuade the Ministers that the true remedy lay in their own hands, and they only had to put an end to the disproportion existing between the relative value of their gold and silver, compared with the rates ruling in the European markets. All over the rest of the world the proportion was as 1 to 15 or thereabouts; in Japan it was but as 1 to 3 — that is, four silver itziboos, (a dollar and a third in weight,) would buy a cobang of gold, worth in China and elsewhere 18*s.* 4¼*d.*—or more than three times that amount of silver. With the means before them of tripling or quadrupling their capital by a single operation, and that five or six times in the year, by purchasing gold for silver,—how vain it was to speak to merchants of the danger or impolicy of entering upon such a traffic, and rousing all the fears and hostility of

the country! It would have been as idle as to talk to the winds. There is a limit, I suppose, beyond which human nature cannot resist temptation, and mercantile human nature may well be expected to break down before a certain prospect of 200 per cent. six times over in the year without risk,—whether the trade could be shown to be illegal or not. Indeed, however contrary to the spirit of the treaty and the intention of the contracting parties, it had, by inadvertence probably, been distinctly stipulated that all gold and silver coin *might* be exported; though nothing could have been farther from the intention of the Japanese government than to leave a door open for emptying the country of the precious metals. Equally idle and abortive must prove any efforts they could make to stop it by custom-house or repressive measures. I told them this from the beginning,—and where the remedy lay, warning them of the danger of delay. But it was not until they were nearly goaded into desperation that they would listen, or at least act, and protect themselves by altering the relative value standard of the gold and silver in their currency.

Partly, also, the business on which I came down had reference to numerous complaints which reached me of irregularities about the exchange of dollars at the custom-house. They had entered into an engagement to exchange a certain quantity every day for the merchants, and of course impartially; but according to all accounts, nothing could be more scandalous than the partiality with which the itziboos were distributed among the different members of the foreign community,—unless it were the preposterous nature of the demands made upon them, and the violence and unseemly scramble among the foreigners themselves for undue proportions, in collusion with some of the custom-house officials. No doubt it outraged the Japanese authorities all the more, that it was very well known what was the motive for all this violence and clamour. The 'merchants' wanted itziboos to traffic in buying up the gold coinage of the empire, and shipping it off to China, whereby they realised a profit of cent. per cent. at

the lowest computation, even when the price of cobangs went up, and could turn their capital and *double* it in two months. No wonder a sort of delirium came upon them. Trade! what were the miserable profits upon transactions in the buying and selling of foreign and Japanese produce compared to this? Who would look at tea and silk, with all the risks of falling markets, in face of a steady and certain exchange of silver against Japanese gold, with never less than 100 per cent. gain?

The custom-house endeavoured to stem this impetuous flood of demands for itziboos, by requiring signed requisitions from each person applying. Vain effort. Mrs. Partington's trying to keep out the Atlantic with her mop could not be more futile. Names! there was no want of names. Every merchant had a hundred friends here—at Shanghae—in every quarter of the globe, who wanted itziboos,—and to make cent. per cent. profit in these newly discovered gold diggings! Who can want friends or constituents with such prizes in his hands? And if bona-fide names were not forthcoming, then 'Snooks' and 'Tooks,' 'Bosh' and 'Moses,' 'Messrs. Nonsense and Hook'em,' supplied the deficiency,—and became frequent applicants for sums so fabulous, that a life would not suffice to have counted the coins; and a line of thirty figures could not express the amount! In fact, the community seemed to have gone utterly mad. The prospect of such unbounded wealth had proved too much for their brains; and they seemed threatened with the fate of the poor man suddenly become possessed of a 20,000*l.* prize in the lottery,—and who went from the lottery office to Bedlam, in a state of raving lunacy. Nor was it confined to merchants. An American frigate coming into port was seized with the same epidemic. One officer resigned his commission, and instantly freighted a ship and started a firm; and nearly every other officer in the ship, finding by the favour of the custom-house an unlimited supply of itziboos, as they were about to take the embassy over to America,—entered largely into profitable operations—for converting silver into gold!

The main fault lay no doubt with the Japanese themselves; but when the day of reckoning and inquiry came, as to the source of these disorders and scandals, mutual recriminations abounded. From the Japanese came complaints that they were borne down and bewildered by clamour and violence;—from the foreigners, that they met with no proper attention to reasonable demands; that they were even recommended to sign requisitions for preposterous sums; that there was gross partiality in the distribution of the coins; a system of vexatious procrastination, &c. &c. without end! Japanese and foreigners seemed equally to have had a fit of insanity; the first from fear and rage combined, and the second from the '*auri sacra fames*,' the unquenched and unquenchable thirst for gold —more gold, and still gold!

It would be difficult to estimate how much and disastrous the influence these unfortunate speculations and bickerings exercised on the Japanese mind. The exchange of itziboos (intended as a facility to foster a legitimate trade, but systematically and perseveringly devoted to the buying up of their gold coinage, which was daily shipped off in large quantities to their despair) became at last their one absorbing thought! There can be no doubt it tended much to excite feelings of hostility; and to array all their prejudices against the foreigner, his trade, and all that belonged to him, or was connected with his presence in the country. It equally certainly and seriously warped their better judgement, in regard to the possible benefits of foreign commerce. It was about this time that they first began to exhibit a desire, which soon ripened into a distinct proposition, to defer the opening of any more ports for a term of years; and even, in the interval, to limit the exports from those already opened. Many were the discussions, both vivâ voce and on paper, to which these reiterated attempts to nullify the treaties led. One result of which was to give a considerable insight into their system of political economy and ethics; and perhaps the information thus gained, can nowhere be

more appropriately given than in this place, while on the subject of commercial rights and tendencies.

In the course of the discussions which followed the inquiry I instituted in regard to these injurious proceedings, the Governor of Kanagawa came more than once to see me; and when his heart was opened, or his tongue only perhaps loosened,—by frequent libations of Chartreuse, which the Consul had placed on the table,—he showed a great desire to understand what was the custom-house system in China, evidently impressed with the idea that whereas the Chinese by it got all the revenue,—the Japanese by their system had only trouble for their pains, with a supplementary budget of expenses. When he heard what were the proceeds of the Shanghae customs —some two millions of taels per annum, equal to some ten millions of itziboos—a numeration difficult to convey in any Japanese terms—he remarked, with a sigh, 'that it was very different with them; hitherto they had nothing but expense!' So, it was observed, it must ever be with trade in its infancy. 'Ah,' he replied, but already everything is becoming dearer; if *this* be the result of foreign trade at its first beginning, what will it be in its developement?' 'But,' it was observed in reply, 'if some things in consequence of a foreign demand become dearer, either money, which bought them, would become more plentiful, or other things (supplied in exchange by foreigners) would be cheaper, so that there would be compensation somewhere.' This was a political economy which Japanese are slow to believe in, and I was fain to be content with assuring him, that so certain was the tendency of all trade to find or make equivalents, that no commerce between different countries was ever *permanent*, unless it proved *mutually beneficial*, and so he might be assured it would be in Japan.

'With every desire,' observed the senior of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, on another occasion, arguing for a limitation of exports, 'with every desire to give the fullest execution to the treaties—to meet to the utmost

of our power your wishes and those of the other Representatives, we still hope it will be borne in mind, that we are but a small country. For centuries we have been isolated from the rest of the world, have produced all that was wanted for our own use, but no more. Now, suddenly, we have entered into foreign relations with five European Powers; a large demand has sprung up for certain articles of home consumption, and with a corresponding rise in prices! Thus we see ourselves menaced with a great national calamity;—and find it is impossible we can by any effort meet at once this demand by increased production. What is the result? Everything is becoming dearer—our people who have no superfluous means, our officers who are all salaried at very low rates, will soon find themselves in absolute poverty and without the means of subsistence. Where is this to end? We know very well that in time—even in a small country like this—an increased demand will act as a stimulus on production, and lead to an increased supply, and, it may be,—thus increase the riches of the nation—at least you tell us this is the result shown by universal experience, and we are willing to believe it; but in the meantime what is to become of the people unable to subsist on diminished means;—or, what amounts to the same thing, increased dearness of everything? These things wound us to the heart. We do not wish to be faithless to treaties, but neither can we calmly look on, and see our country menaced with a general impoverishment. What is evidently wanted is *time*. You have come upon us with these large demands, and this all-devouring western trade, too suddenly; and you press us too vehemently and too far. We are urged to concede everything, remove all restrictions, and, in a word, to accomplish in your favour, and in a moment, what, after all, should be the work of a century; and this is an impossibility! For no effort or abstinence from action on our part, can suddenly double or triple the supply of the articles you want to buy; and that which alone seems

capable of limiting your demand—is precisely that which will reduce our people to poverty and despair;—such an increase of price as will leave the inhabitants of this country no means of purchasing for their own use. Already raw silk, a product of universal consumption; oil, a common article of food, and a necessity to our people; with vegetable wax, very needful also for common consumption; are so greatly enhanced in value, that Japanese begin to find it difficult to buy for their own use. It would no doubt be different with time, or at all events the evil would be much mitigated; for it is difficult for us to understand what even ultimately the nation has to gain by this foreign commerce! It makes the articles of our own production which we want, dearer to the many for the enrichment of a few; and the things which you wish to sell, are either superfluities we do *not* want, or cannot afford to buy. We say, then, *time is wanted* to prevent great calamities resulting—which, after all, must tend to defeat your object of extended commerce, even if you were deaf to all considerations connected with our welfare as a nation. Let some restriction be put upon the export of these articles until there has been time for an increased production,—and a supply that may be somewhat more proportioned to the demand. In that way trade can still go on without undermining all the elements of stability and peace, and great national disasters will happily be averted.'

Now it must be admitted, allowing for some little colouring or dressing in the passage of the ideas through European brains, that the argument is a very telling one, and neither devoid of truth nor logic. There is no doubt that the prices, not only of all articles for which we have created a new demand, had largely increased, but everything, had become dearer. The pressure of such increase must bear hardly on Japanese consumers—who are many—even if the sellers, who are few comparatively, should be enriched. Time is unquestionably required for any largely increased production. But once grant the prayer of these

patriotic Ministers, and assent to their propositions, how would it work? We might justly answer:—'If you limit or prohibit the demand, you take away the stimulus to increased production, on which all your hopes are founded. You lessen it in the first case, and who shall devise a gauge by which the foreigner may know *how far you may apply the pressure?* And in the second alternative — prohibition, you destroy it altogether. Then, again, you wish to apply this regulating screw, (and to leave it in the hands of government officials wholly beyond our supervision or control,) on the only articles which hitherto have afforded any elements of an export trade. That is indeed to render nugatory all commercial treaties, and by the direct action of the government—a contradiction in letter and spirit to the whole tenour and declared object of those treaties. How can a government supply the unerring scales of graduation which trade, free and unrestricted, naturally furnishes by a self-adjusting process? Never has a government yet succeeded in its attempts to perform this function, in a way to be really beneficial either to trade or to a nation. If the tendency of a sudden demand or measure of consumption, which is the same thing, is to enhance prices, that very tendency acts as a check to the demand.' My American colleague, I thought, in talking over the subject, seemed more or less disposed to accept a proposition either for *limitation* or *prohibition*—*quand même;* that is assuming the result to be the destruction of all trade. If trade and the weal of this nation were really incompatible,—as the Ministers allege and very possibly believe,—and this could be satisfactorily demonstrated, it is quite possible I also might agree with them. For there are —such at least is my conviction—other and higher objects in life, whether it be the life of individuals or of nations, than Trade, and the interchange of produce between different people and countries. Whatever material or moral advantages foreign commerce may bring in its train,—to set against the evils which also follow, as surely as the shadow follows the substance,—they can never be received

as an equivalent for the general impoverishment of a nation. But I have the conviction that in this, as all other things where a preponderating good is universal, despite the contingent evils inseparable from it and everything mundane, the general laws which give the universality, render any result wholly out of keeping with the rest impossible. And, therefore, although evil and not good may seem the direct or immediate result, it is either only apparent,—partial,—or very temporary; and trade is still the instrument of an ultimate good, and one only thus to be attained.

But it is ill arguing against foregone conclusions and a traditional policy. In a work of Titsingh I came a short time afterwards upon an exposition of Japanese views on matters of political economy,—still existing and in full force, as I have had occasion to test in my unavailing efforts to induce them to profit by modern science for the better working of their coal mines—a vast source of wealth to them, and benefit to us could they be moved. 'Ancient writers,' says our Japanese author, 'compared the metals to the bones of the human body, and the contributions to the blood, the flesh, the hair of the skin, which are continually renewed—a process that never takes place with the metals.' And he goes on to trace the ruin and impoverishment of China to the improvident working of these mines, and the prodigious export of the metals into Tartary and Mongolia. He then draws the moral, that if they continued to work their gold, and silver, and copper mines as they had heretofore done—since the *metals, like the bones, once taken from the earth, were never reproduced*—they would soon be exhausted; and unless the export of gold and silver to foreign countries were stopped—more considerable, he believed, than all which had been transported from China to Tartary, and estimated at about 150,000 cobangs annually (about as many sovereigns, which does not give a very high idea of the quantity in the country)—he augured nothing but ruin and penury.

He goes on to say that: 'Anciently they knew neither

gold nor silver in Japan, and then they wanted for nothing, and the people were good and virtuous. Since then, metals have been discovered, the heart of man has been perverted from day to day, and yet, with the exception of medicines, we could very well dispense with all that comes from without. The textile stuffs, and all the foreign articles, are of no real utility to us; we did not even know them in former times.' And having thus satisfactorily shown that to the love or greed of gold had to be traced all evil in the breast of man,—and to its export the impoverishment of the country, he farther adds, 'All the gold and silver and copper that has been extracted from the mines, under the reign of *Gongin** and since his reign, have been dissipated, and, what is more lamentable, for things which were only superfluities and might easily have been dispensed with. If we thus exhaust all our treasures, on what shall we live?'—He forgets that he had declared, the page before, they wanted for nothing—the earth was fertile and the people were good and virtuous, and not only when there was no gold or silver, but *because* there was none. He concludes with a sort of benediction: 'May we all reflect on what I have said, and the riches of Japan will last as long as the heavens and the earth.'

This, as I have had practical experience, is really the ruling policy of the Japanese at this day. They regard all we bring as superfluities, the payment of which, if in gold and silver, by so much impoverishes them.; — and if in produce, is likely to raise the prices on the natives, and equally lead to distress and poverty; and lastly, that it is a crime against posterity, and an improvidence the most reprehensible, to go on exhausting the mineral resources of the country without regard to any but the present generation.

So they are deaf to all suggestions for increasing the quantity, or improving the quality, of their coal by better

* Gongin Sama, the successor of Taikoo Sama, and the founder of the present dynasty of Tycoons, in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

methods and the aid of steam machinery: the first because they are afraid of exhausting it, and do not in truth care to supply foreign nations from their own stores;—and the second, because it would throw labour out of employment. Hence, too, they have refused to work certain lead mines at Hakodadi, rich in silver alloy. Perhaps the Russians, who seem disposed to make that port a sort of head-quarters, and to exercise a considerable influence over the ruling powers, may succeed—if this were their interest—in persuading them to work it.*

* The Japanese Government apparently had made up their minds, at last, to seek assistance in the working of their mines from the science of the West; and, accordingly, just before my departure, two Americans, said to be good geologists, with practical knowledge of mining, had arrived, to be employed by the Japanese Government. Arrangements for their services appeared to have been entered into through Mr. Harris, the resident Minister of the United States, and on a liberal scale. I have not yet heard of any result.

CHAPTER XV.

A COUNTRY WALK—AGRICULTURE, TREES AND FLORA OF JAPAN—PEASANT LIFE AND PRISON LIFE—NATURAL HISTORY—JAPANESE LACQUER WARE AND SKILFUL WORKMANSHIP—MONSTER BAZAAR.

LET us leave Japanese politics and the whole class of subjects official,—wearisome and monotous withal—(save when broken by some deed of atrocity or bloodshed), and take a walk in the fresh morning air to Yokohama. The sun is up, the sky clear and bright, and the change from Japanese officials and chicanery—with absurd alarms, and still more preposterous plans for meeting the supposed dangers of natural impoverishment, famine, and ruin (declared, as we have seen, to be the only probable result of foreign trade)—to Japanese scenery, is refreshing, both to body and mind. The shady roads and country lanes bring us in communion only with nature; which here, as elsewhere, is divine—here more than in many favoured lands even, whatever the spirit of man may be! It is indeed worthy of all admiration, while the simple manners and kindly nature of the people, are in pleasant contrast with the juggling and duplicity of their rulers.

A walk to Yokohama, the present site of what foreign trade there is, at the port of Kanagawa, through cultivated fields and copse-fringed lanes, to end with a morning's shopping in the huge bazaar (which the whole extemporised settlement of shops and warehouses has become), is as pleasant a change as well can be. It opens the book of Japanese life at one of the most amusing, and least objectionable chapters. Kanagawa, the residence of

the official section of the little foreign community at the port, is situated on the northern edge of a bight of the great Bay of Yeddo. Following the shore with a graceful curve, the town stretches, with houses and trees intermingled, for some two miles, with a near background of picturesque hills,—wooded and broken into every variety of form. It was on the opposite or southern point of this lesser bay, as has been explained, that the Japanese bethought themselves of *inventing* a settlement for foreigners. Well isolated from all the surrounding hamlets, and far removed from the great trunk road which leads to the capital, and the busy town of Kanagawa itself—the resort of all travellers on their journeys to and from the capital, as I have already described—it realised all the conditions a Japanese could conceive desirable—for the seclusion and packing away of their little-desired guests, as they would pack artillery or pen up cattle; to be accessible for themselves, but unapproachable to all else without permission. An extemporised road across some salt-marshes or lagunes, abridges the distance from Kanagawa, and further answers the purpose of making the route deviate earlier from the great thoroughfare for Japanese. It gives it, moreover, an exclusive character, so that no one could have any pretext for turning into it, other than that of intercourse with the '*Tojin baba*,' or trading foreigners. To make it necessary to produce *a licence* for this, completed the net of isolation. It was to this happily planned and ingeniously executed design, that the Diplomatic Agents of Great Britain and America saw sundry grave objections, and refused to accept the improvised settlement,—with all its properties of quays, jetties, and custom-house,—roads and bridges over salt lagunes included,—refused to take them over at any price, or accept them even as a gift. But there the settlement remains, and no effort of Foreign Representatives could undo the mischief of a first wrong step. Insidiously designed, it has been too readily backed by the first comers—and too steadily persisted in by the native authorities for any other result.

But we are taking a path through the fields that we may turn out of the road awhile. Some of the paddy (rice) is still uncut, though it has long been ripe, and this is the end of November. The sun in its continued power, and the dry season, are apparently sufficient guarantees to the farmer that it will not be spoiled; and, ever thrifty, they provide no more store room than is absolutely necessary. The corn itself they often either beat out on the roadside or pathway, or by fire on the place where it is cut, separate the heads, and turn the straw to manure. Here is some suspended across a bamboo pole along the edge of the field, heads down, to dry—a very simple, inexpensive, and, I should fancy, effective mode of drying. At other times they have a simple machine with iron teeth, by which the women separate the grain as they would card wool. The flail

CARDING MACHINE FOR SEPARATING THE GRAIN

is also in use, as the sketch on the opposite page shows. Neither cold, nor rain, nor fogs, have any terrors here to the cultivator during the months of October and November, for it is like another summer, without its scorching heat or pestilent musquitoes. They are, in reality, among the pleasantest and most genial of the twelve. Yet here and there a little hoar-frost is on the tufts of grass, and the

early morning air is keen. They have already got their wheat-seed into the ground on the higher land, and it is

HOW THEY SEPARATE THE GRAIN

springing up in regular lines, not broadcast, but drilled.

JAPANESE PLOUGHING

And what a soil it is! a rich dark friable earth, nearly black,—light to handle, and without a stone or a pebble

to be seen, which the lightest wooden plough just tipped with iron, turns up with ease. This is two or three feet deep, banked up from the paths; a crop of turnip-radish is coming up, which grows here between one and two feet in length, perfectly white, and nearly as tasteless. Some of the cotton fields still have the sticks standing, with a few pods here and there attached. Potatoes, too, are cultivated, and seem to have been known for centuries: whether indigenous or not, it is difficult to ascertain, but as they are called by a Dutch name, it may be to them they are indebted for their introduction. They thrive well, though always small, and are sold at two itziboos the picul, or three shillings the sack of 133 lbs., much as at Hakodadi. Here is a rich variety of crops, fit for either zone—tropic or temperate: cotton, rice, potatoes, turnips, and wheat, maize, buckwheat, and millet, seem in strange juxtaposition; however, here they are, and flourishing.

And now we turn from the open fields — the last one showing the regular treading down of bare feet, to keep the seed from being worked out, giving equal evidence of the care of the husbandman and the cheapness of labour. Yet they are always economising it, cheap and plentiful as it may be, and instead of the feet they sometimes use a

HOW THEY COVER THE SEED

simple roller made out of a transverse section of a tree. And when they wish to manure a field, they make a tree

do the duty of one man, and very much assist and economise the labour of the other by passing a rope

HOW THEY USE MANURE

through the handle of the pail close to the depot of the manure, one end of which is secured to the tree and the

MANURING PROCESS

other is held by the labourer to enable him to swing the contents over a wide area. In other cases he is supplied with a large ladle, at the end of a ten feet handle, which gives an equally wide sweep, and with little labour.

We now gain a shady lane through which the sun's rays pierce only at intervals. On the banks above, the pine, the evergreen-oak, a noble tree, with leaves of a rich dark colour, something like the laurel, the light bamboo—the *Cryptomeria Japonica*,—(all except the bamboo, which is a grass, though growing thirty or forty feet high,) trees of great size, and value as timber. The beautiful maple, too, with its starlike leaves and ever graceful foliage, cannot be passed by without a glance of admiration, and Japan can boast of numerous varieties. At this season its leaves are of the brightest scarlet hue, but no pen can convey an adequate idea of the richness and variety of the autumnal tints. The brightest crimson and scarlet alternate with a golden yellow, and the deeper colours, brown and green, of the evergreens. The 'sear and yellow leaf' has a beauty of its own here, which leaves little room for regret that the glowing hues of summer are wanting. Yet winter is coming, one sees; every now and then the wind sends a whirl of dried leaves along the road, and some of the trees are looking all the barer in consequence.

The tall well-kept hedges and fences are still thickly covered, cut and trimmed in the Dutch manner of gardening (a fashion which there is little doubt, I think, was introduced into Europe from Japan), and how admirably they are planted and trimmed! Nowhere out of England can such hedges be seen,—and not in the British Isles can be found such variety. Here is a low hedge or border rather, made of the tea plant, two or three bushes deep, and growing about three feet high—not unlike the ordinary flowering camellia, of which it is a species. Now we have come to an enclosure fenced in with nectarines, and there is a hedge of pomegranate. Inside a tall orange tree is laden with its golden fruit; and, stranger still, a cherry tree in full blossom this 25th

day of November! O happy land and pleasant country! —that is, when no Daimios or officials intrude their presence, which mars all. But I said I would not think of politics. Let us return to the hedge-rows and their inexhaustible variety. Now it is a fine tall close-twisted fence of Cryptomeria, while over that porch of thatch the Wistaria (or *Glycine sinensis* as it has also been called) spreads with insatiable desire its far-reaching arms, to be covered in spring with glorious clusters of purple flowers.* Little hamlets and farmers' homesteads are dotted about in a sort of picturesque confusion,—generally nestled in the valleys and under the hill sides, amidst a clump of trees where the Cryptomeria, the bamboo, and the palm all tend to give an Eastern character to dwellings otherwise claiming some resemblance to Swiss châlets. What architecture there is, however, has no originality, and is in fact only a slight modification of the Chinese style of building, with wooden frames. Their temples, gateways, and larger houses are eminently Chinese, only in better style, and infinitely *better kept.* The country can never look wintry here, unless covered with snow, (which it is sometimes after Christmas,) for its trees can never be wholly stripped of foliage, there is such a preponderance of evergreens.

It seems the slack time of the year for labourers in the field: few are at work. Their simple device for keeping off the birds—a pole in the centre from which cords are stretched to the edges at wide intervals—show that seed is in the ground; and the farmer seems to be contemplating with great satisfaction the success of his device. Certainly it has great simplicity of design and economy in its application to recommend it,—and I have such faith in the practical spirit and intelligence of the Japanese, that it is enough for me to see the general adoption of any plan, to feel certain of its well answering the end proposed. I give a facsimile drawing, therefore, of the original, and

* The yellow flower, of which rare specimens are to be seen in China, I have never observed in Japan.

judging by the contented air of my Japanese farmer, I should recommend it, on both grounds, to the agriculturist's notice. Here and there, remnants of the paddy crop

MODE OF PROTECTING LAND FROM BIRDS

are being cut with a primitive-looking sickle. Now and then one meets,—with regret,—a line of coolies carrying the manure pails to the ground, or, worse still, distributing it in the manner already illustrated. But most of the seed of the spring crops is already in, I fancy, and the ground is pretty well cleared of all the others; what little is doing is the work of women and children, and they are the chief labourers at this season.

The Japanese authorities have endeavoured to persuade foreign officials that wages are high and produce dear. Such can hardly be the case. The evidence of plenty, or a sufficiency at least, everywhere meets the eye; cottages and farm-houses are rarely seen out of repair—in pleasant contrast to China where everything is going to decay—public buildings and private dwellings alike, but more especially the former. The men and

women, now they take to their clothing, are well and comfortably clad — even the children, though there are two or three rejoicing in nature's garb — having just rushed out of a vapour bath, and, Russian-like, facing the cold with impunity. In passing the door may be seen a black-mouthed matron, the mother no doubt of all these disreputable-looking little Cupids and Psyches — (without their wings) in precisely the same garb, nursing the baby as she looks unconcernedly round at the *tojins*. One would think they must needs be a cleanly people — and that is a great virtue — whatever we may say or think of their free and easy mode of arriving at the result. There is no sign of starvation or penury in the midst of the population — if little room for the indulgence of luxury or the display of wealth. Their habits of life are evidently simple in the highest degree. A bare, matted room — not over large but generally clean; a few shelves or a low *etagére* of lacquer let into some recess; a few lacquer cups and saucers, or porcelain with as many trays on stands;—behold the whole furniture of a well-furnished house, from the Daimio, whose revenue is estimated at a million measures of rice, to the little shopkeeper or peasant who lives from hand to mouth. This is all the richest have, and more than the poorest want. In the kitchen a few buckets, two or three copper or iron pans, and a moveable stove or two, with a large pan for the daily rice and hot water, supply all the means of cooking. Feather and bamboo brooms, with plenty of water and air, afford the means of cleanliness. In the inner rooms, behind those sliding panels, are a few cotton-stuffed wrappers — and they are bed and blanket, while a lacquer or wooden pillow completes the couch.

There is something to admire in this Spartan simplicity of habits, which seems to extend through all their life, and they pride themselves upon it. Fish and rice are the chief articles of food, with tea and saki for beverages. The peasant, the labour of the day over, can always look

forward to the luxury of a hot bath, and a still more luxurious shampooing—if not by his barber or the blind professors of the art, who go about all the evening, with a whistle for their cry, seeking customers—he can always make sure of it by his wife's aid.

THE PEASANT'S LUXURY

Certainly so much austerity, and such universal absence of luxury, must go far to enable all to live upon little—preserve to each his independence of action, and, one would think, spare many heart-burnings in vain effort to outvie each other in ostentatious entertainments and equipages—a rivalry which, in other countries, boasting of superior wisdom and civilisation, is the source of much more misery than happiness to the envied owners, and often leads to ruin. Here, if there be any such rivalry, I believe it is confined to the richer Daimios, and consists almost exclusively in the number of their retainers, who are fed and kept in idleness. The poorer classes seem perfectly to answer the description of a happy peasant-life, drawn from another race, who

> ——— lead a careless life,
> With nought to wish and nought to spare.

As I wandered on the pleasant road with this train of thought, which the picture before me of agricultural life and Arcadian simplicity suggested, fully occupying me, I had forgotten a special object I had in view on starting. This necessitated a deviation out of the beaten track, about midway between Kanagawa and Yokohama, so I turned on my steps—the same thoughts still pursuing me, however, as the lines already quoted so descriptive of the people came back to my mind. What condition can be happier? Wealth brings troubles—cares, temptations. '*Quien tien criados tien cuidados*,' says the Spanish proverb. So true it is, that much to spare seems ever to draw after it, as an inseparable condition, much to be anxious about. Care follows like a shadow, and if, like other shadows, it only proves the substance unlike a mere shadow, it becomes a heavy burden. Those who have little, without a wish for more, are certainly therefore among the happiest of mankind, as far as worldly conditions are concerned. Here I came to a full stop, not that the argument seemed to me by any means exhausted, it was a natural obstacle that brought me suddenly up, an 'institution' of this Arcadian country, and much too real and substantial in the form it presented to be overlooked. It was not so pleasant a sight as smiling faces of happy peasants, and green fields with wild-fowl flying across by hundreds, but perhaps it was more instructive. We are on the rising ground and below lies the valley, a pretty retired and rural-looking spot as heart can desire, or eye can look upon! All is peaceful and quiet, every field is in full cultivation, and here and there a green hedge-row, or a clump of noble evergreens, mark the line of a country lane. There are no hamlets or cottages visible, however, and half unconsciously you feel, even as you are admiring, that there is an air of solitude and isolation about the whole scene, which oppresses—you can hardly explain why—until your eye rests on a strong palisaded building which stands in the midst of all, a little to the left, and on a highly elevated platform. A stone-faced moat surrounds it, and already

as you look down on its courtyards and long low line of roofs, you feel by a kind of instinct that the smiling valley has in its heart but one occupant — and that a dismal one! It is the prison of the district,— the twin brother to the foreign settlement at Yokohama,—conceived by the same Government, born of the same parents in the same hour,—and placed under the same political guardianship. Let us go in and see what it contains, and how they manage these things in Japan; which, for all it seems so Arcadian, does not, alas! seem exempt from the maladies common to the social state in other lands.

The outer gate is open and, turning round an angle, we come upon the Janitor's lodge — a sort of guard-house. Three or four officials are lounging about, and do not seem much oppressed with business, and still less with care. We have a pass, and no difficulty is made therefore in showing the interior — none at least beyond the delay caused by the necessity of hunting amidst a heap of keys and labels — the first of the oddest shape, and the last of an incommensurate size, on which the places they open are written. This over, the gate of a narrow courtyard is first opened, and then the inner door of a large room. It is a room of twelve mats, for so they measure houses and streets alike — open bars all round, and with an unpleasant resemblance to a wild beast's cage. This is a division appropriated to foreign prisoners — furnished chiefly by sailors — a class ever prolific in riot and drunkenness in a foreign port,— the more the pity! Happily, I was going to say — but a doubt enters into my mind as to the appropriateness of the term,— happily or unhappily then as the case may be — there were no inmates. But on entering there was no lack of evidence of former occupants. A compass elaborately painted on the wainscot recorded how one 'Christian Louis' had wiled away the tedious hours. A checquer board below answered for another; while a third had made a frank confession, for the benefit of his successors, that *saki* had brought him there, and 'saki would be his ruin.' With which com-

fortable conviction he seems to have solaced himself, for with great complacency he had signed his name in full. This habit of scoring names, wherever space for sprawling letters can be found — on works of art or nature's monuments of granite; on prison cells and palace walls; or, in default of other medium, on barks of trees and garden seats — is one of the least intelligible of the many forms of folly, which idleness or a craving for notoriety seems to take in every age. It is certainly one of the most universal and ancient. On the rocks of Syria as in the ruins of Pompeii evidences abound proving its existence from the time of the Pharaohs! Is it instinctive desire for immortality, which prompts so many Browns and Robinsons of every race, Heathen and Christian, to take so much trouble and pains to deface monuments, with their initials and names at length,— and thus hand down to posterity the unimportant fact of their obscure existence at a given date and place? Yet what can it benefit *them*, that in another century their ignoble names should be read and laughed at, or anathematised, by others following in their footsteps? I confess I never could form even a plausible explanation of the phenomenon;—but at least a common felon's cell might escape from such frantic efforts to achieve immortality! There is a laurel tree shown in the gardens of the Isola Bella on the Lago Maggiore with the half effaced letters which once formed the word '*Battaglia*' carved,— so guide-books and guides aver,— by Napoleon himself, shortly before the battle of Marengo. That his thoughts should be of battles at that hour, as in his last, can easily be understood; but what pleasure could *he*, whose destiny it was to carve out empires, have found in cutting letters on the bark of a tree, in that pleasant garden of Borromeo? We must continue our inspection of the prison. To the right is a second cell or closet with a tub of water. The Japanese, true to their national habits, afford a daily bath to every inmate, and twice a day in the summer.

The prison is divided into two ranges, and on the

opposite side is a large square room or cage into which some twenty prisoners might be put. It appears the solitary system has not yet penetrated into Japan — and as no distinction of sex appears to be considered material, among the lower orders at all events, the arrangements for the safe custody of the inmates admits of little farther simplification. In this room we found five or six sufficiently miserable-looking individuals — all men, however — unshorn and unshaven, as prisoners usually are, except in the palace-prisons of England. There was no furniture, of course;—how should there be, indeed, when the greatest Daimio holds a table an incumbrance, a chair an abomination, and a bed altogether insufferable and only fit for a Foreigner!

One is glad to get out and breathe a purer and fresher air. A prison, a mad-house, and a hospital, are the three saddest spectacles anywhere to be seen. They bring us face to face with suffering humanity in many of its most repulsive forms; and a Japanese prison, I found, was no exception. The other two, so far as I can learn, do not exist — neither mad-house nor hospital. With a brisk walk of a quarter of an hour across the lagune in the fresh morning air, with the sun-lit bay on the left, and the distant hills of the opposite shore, half lost in aërial tints of grey and purple to gladden the eye,—the dismal one-house valley is soon forgotten. Storks are vainly fishing for eels, worms, and other delicacies, and devouring them when found with the greatest equanimity, despite the contortions of the victim — much as the clever and rapacious devour their victims in the world. Or, as the French poet has it—

> Les fous sont des festins
> Et les sages les mangent!

I have already remarked on the semi-worship of the stork by the Japanese. They are the favourite objects of artistic skill in every form of ornamentation—in porcelain and lacquer—tapestry and embroidery;—and nothing can be more artistic than the way in which they

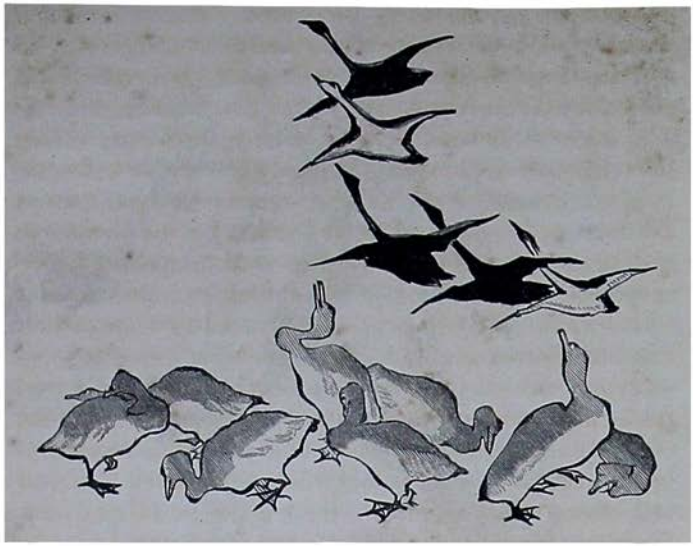
are treated in all these various works, as the following woodcut may show.

Beyond, on the surface of the pond, are myriads of wild fowl, so conscious of their immunity from gun and dog, under imperial decree, that they allow you to approach within a few yards — a most aggravating sight

to a sportsman; but such is the law, and the birds evidently know it. No shot at bird or beast may be fired within ten Ri, or thirty miles of the Tycoon's residence, and Yokohama, alas! is only seventeen miles distant. To the Japanese, probably, it is no privation, but to an Englishman, sick of pork and fowls all the year round, and eager for open air sport and exercise, it is very hard; — but the Japanese officials seem to take all the more pleasure in vigorously insisting upon the inviolability of the laws.*

* This was felt a great grievance by the foreign residents at Yokohama, and led to much ill-feeling as well as some bloodshed. The restriction was probably all the more tenaciously maintained by the Government of the Tycoon

Their artists equally excel, from long and loving study, in depicting all kinds of wild fowl, of which the following is an illustration copied from a Japanese print.



Hawking seems the only sport in vogue even among the privileged and higher classes, and that, in the imperial domain, is strictly limited likewise to the Tycoon. No private individual, so I am told, may even keep a falcon, of which there are some very fine specimens. This is only one of the numerous petty restraints and restrictions arising from a totally different state of society and political organisation — of a more or less irritating and vexatious character—to which foreigners must perforce submit who take up their residence in Japan. The Diplomatic Agents were even recommended, as a means of avoiding insult, never to go out on foot or on horseback, but only in norimons, shut-up, and with a couple of 'yaconins' in attendance. A pleasant life they would have of it, under

from the fact, that carrying firearms and shooting were privileges they were determined the Japanese should not have — as involving danger to the State. The great mass of the nation are denied all privileges, and none more jealously than the right of carrying firearms.

such conditions. And how long will this last, or will it ever admit of improvement? We must hope so, for, as one of my colleagues observed, '*il laisse beaucoup à desirer!*'

Our walk is coming to an end; storks and wild fowls are already behind us, left unmolested to their privileged immunities. And now we are at the land entrance of Yokohama — facing a town of two or three streets deep branching off one large trunk, nearly half a mile in length. It is all timber built, consisting entirely of shops, except the few houses and gardens at the end for the foreigners, and the extensive Custom-house establishment. These shops are all filled with goods entirely selected to suit a foreigner's wants and tastes. Let my readers figure in their mind all they have ever heard or fancied of Japanese ingenuity and perfection of work—in lacquer, basket-work, porcelain and bronze,—fancy silks and embroideries, spread out before them in every tempting form, the very shopkeepers having learnt enough English to tell you 'all vely cheap,' 'vely good,' (for the *r* is seldom heard from a Japanese tongue) and if you ask, he will tell you the prices also tolerably intelligibly, and then judge how few button up their pockets, and walk away, like wise people!

But I came with deliberate intention to look, to examine, and to buy — my friends had so persecuted me to spend their money for them, some one hundred dollars, some five hundred, or 'any amount,'—only to send them 'beautiful things from Japan,' where, to their sorrow, they could not go in person. 'Beautiful things!' it is easily said, my friends, but it is distressingly vague. Pretty, cheap, and dear, are all relative terms, and subject to infinite diversity of opinion. However, since I cannot help myself, I must needs take the plunge; my friends' money to spend, and my own taste to guide me, in this most trying voyage of discovery. And first I am to find a pair of well-bred Japanese dogs, 'with eyes like saucers, no nose, the tongue hanging out at the side, too large for the mouth, and white and tan if possible, and two years old.' My friend, you see, is a

dog fancier,—and so my first visit is to the poultry street. Some twenty establishments, with the most extraordinary and, it must also be said, the most rare and beautiful collection of birds and beasts,—the former especially,—that can well be seen out of a zoological garden. We turn into the first of them by a large courtyard which runs behind the shop, and all round are pens for the different occupants below, with cages above for the smaller birds. Our first acquaintance is with a long-bearded goat, trying in vain to get over his prison bars, — for goats are only objects of curiosity in this part of Japan, although they do exist as an indigenous race, I believe; and next to him a grizzly black bear, small, but wild and vicious looking — the sort of animal one likes to meet in a cage much better than 'at home' in the woods. Then a red fallow deer, and a very fine one. A great stork beyond is gobbling up, as usual, his live food, and with his usual gusto and disregard of *their* feelings; and then come various kinds of web-footed birds, apparently of the duck species, one twice the size of a common duck, and quite unknown to me. The beautiful coloured drake of the mandarin species and his homely mate are there; and then such a collection of pheasants! The gold bird with its gorgeous plumes, the silver pheasant of almost greater beauty, with its silvery silky feathers and long sweeping tail; the copper pheasant, never seen alive in Europe, unless two pair which I sent from Japan to the Zoological Society may have arrived; then a species akin to our own — and to think that a pair of each could be bought for some thirty shillings, and yet to have to leave them behind, was very sad! Strange freak of nature that in all these it is the male bird that has a monopoly of the gay plumage, tufts, and other personal advantages, and the poor lady birds are left shorn of all ornaments — sober — sad-coloured matrons, with nothing whatever to attract admiration! This seems a most unequal and hard distribution of nature's gifts. What a change there would be in this world of ours, if with the human race the same law pre-

vailed. I think man should be especially grateful, that it is quite otherwise ordered! We pass on to a long line of cages —containing doves and pigeons of most rare plumage and colours, pink and blue, some tinted with gold and green of the softest hue. Bantam fowls, indigenous or originally from Java, I cannot discover ; — but in their miniature proportions and perfect forms they are great beauties. We cannot stay here all day, however. The red-faced monkey (the only species in Japan), fowls of all sizes and colour, swans and geese and ducks (some very captivating), we pass without note. An aquarium with all sorts of strange looking elfs, — gold and silver and spotted purple fishes, with undeniable tails dividing into three large sweeps of diaphonous texture, beguile us on the way out. One much admired just emerges from the shadow of the artificial rock with its tufts of watergrass and marine creepers, the most prized of the lot, — with a body like a barrel, to which a golden head and tail seem to have been set on, in the most capricious way. My dogs are chosen, a species of Charles II. spaniel intensified ; — and by the bye there is so much genuine likeness that I think it probable the merry monarch was indebted to his marriage with a Portuguese princess, for the original race of spaniels, as well as her dower of Bombay. I looked for some specimens of the 167 species of bees, with which, according to Siebold, Japan is gifted, but in vain. As we pass into the shop, we come upon a number of toy cages occupied by mice with pink eyes, turning a wheel which sets in motion half a dozen of the primitive machines with which they separate the rice from its husk, here as in China. Poor little workmen !— they are happily unconscious, happier than many higher placed in the scale,— that it is a life slavery of bootless labour, to which a hard fortune has consigned them ! In the shop is the dried body of a mermaid most ingeniously put together, as natural and lifelike as any dried mummy ! But I must not take you over the lacquer, and silk, and porcelain shops, or where should I stop ? A broad sheet

of the 'Times,' would not suffice; and besides it would be a sort of Tantalus cup, for I am positive, were I to describe some of the things, the desire to possess them would haunt my readers like a dream of unattainable bliss. There at the corner is the principal, or, at least, one of the largest, the best, and most expensive of the establishments—the 'Howell and James' of Yokohama. One glance, and then we will say good-bye to lacquer, in description at least,—while I pursue in the most conscientious way, my labour of spending other people's money in the purchase of things they do not want, or may not like. Here in the lower floor are merely such things as you see everywhere. Some lacquer trays, oblong, round, and oval, but miracles of cheapness—five, ten, and fifteen shillings each, of good lacquer, and many of beautiful design. But some there are of inlaid wood and lacquer combined at very different prices. There are boxes with every kind of gold tracery and design, which here are used for carrying letters, but would do admirably for gloves. Some are with birds and trees in raised gold relief, as rich as well can be, and of all prices from five shillings to as many guineas. But upstairs is the fine collection—cabinets of many woods, inlaid;—and lacquer luncheon cabinets, of such infinite ingenuity, variety, and perfection of form, that they could not fail to win a lady's heart if offered as work-boxes. Here is one of a square form, standing some eighteen inches high, with a globe top, in imitation of a huge egg, or crackled china — which opens out into a multiplicity of drawers and trays and boxes of finished workmanship, embossed in gold and silver. 'A very perfect piece of work and ingenuity, truly. How much?'—'*Ikorah na mong?*' that is about the first sentence every foreigner learns here, and the second, which he immediately finds the necessity of acquiring, is '*Tākai-mēipŏ tākēi!*' 'Too dear, much too dear!' But are the things so dear? They are both dear and cheap. Some of the older ware is much prized, either as we prize old China, because it is old and cannot be easily come

at—a very silly reason it appears to me—or because it is really better than the more modern, and can only be had in limited quantity;—and very long prices are very often asked and given for them. Then, again, there have been sent lately, by Daimios of the less wealthy classes, fine specimens of lacquer—heirlooms it is said, which, nevertheless, they are willing to part with—for a consideration. Whether this be true or not, large and beautiful specimens are often left to be sold with the Japanese dealers at a fixed price,—and you must either give it, or go without the articles. In other cases the shopkeeper will ask you 500 itziboos, and in the end take 300, or perhaps 100! There can be no established price for such things, because they are not in common demand, nor can they be multiplied. They are all 'fancy' articles and with a 'fancy' price. 'But what for this bijou of a workbox, for such it ought to be—*Ikorah?*' Eighty itziboos, he says. How cheap you think! yet that is five guineas, and very pretty things are to be bought in London and Paris or Berlin, for five guineas! And this inlaid cabinet, with panels and cameos of porcelain—he wants 500 silver itziboos for it; and that, you see, is not far from forty guineas, which after all is a long price, beautiful as the articles are.* But some of the things are really wonderfully cheap, while others again seem unreasonably dear, without the uninitiated being able to detect much difference in the work. There is a difference in most cases in the cost of the production, from a greater perfection of the work and material. But however interesting and amusing shopping may be on the spot, and to the actual purchaser, it is dull work in description, and proverbially so both in practice and imagination to a *looker on*; so we will say farewell to this monster bazaar,—where pretty things are easily to be found, and a large sum of money quite as easily to be spent,—and lost, for all other purposes.

Specimens of the lacquer, porcelain, and bronze, many

* Several of these articles were sent to the Japan Court in the Exhibition, and proved objects of interest, attracting many admirers.

of them very choice and rare, I collected and sent to the Great Exhibition, that it might be seen how far they would bear the test of close comparison with the best workmanship of Europe. And I think the result was by no means to the disparagement of the Japanese.

As I have given the fruit of my own observation in regard to the agriculture of Japan, so far as I was enabled to speak at the time, I may as well say here that subsequently, during a journey into the interior, I had the advantage of Mr. John Veitch's greater knowledge as a practical gardener and botanist, who was in search of new species in the vegetable kingdom. And various collections were made with his assistance for the royal gardens at Kew and Windsor. I profited by the opportunity also to obtain from him a note of the results of his observation both as to the agriculture, the crops, trees, and flora of the country, and these I have, with his permission, given entire in the Appendix.* Although several new plants and species were found, particularly among the conifers — in which Japan is rich, it must needs be incomplete while great part of the country remains unexplored; but I trust it will be found to convey a good deal that is both new and interesting on the subjects touched upon. I have had many inquiries about the system of cultivation followed, and the rotation of crops in Japan; but I fear anything it has been in my power to obtain in the way of information, will fall far short of what is desired. The Bishop of Victoria, with whom I had some conversation on the subject, has given nearly all the information at present attainable, in a chapter devoted to the matter, in his 'Ten Weeks in Japan;' and it would therefore be superfluous to repeat it here. I will merely say that the conclusion he arrives at accords with my own, namely, that 'any rotation of crops which can answer to the English system of agriculture, is unknown and unpractised—and that the disposition of the land for convenience of irrigation necessary for a rice

* See Appendix C.

crop, excludes the possibility of the same field being used for any other crop requiring a drier condition of the soil.' After the above had been written, I obtained some farther notes from Captain Vyse, H.M. Consul at Kanagawa, as to the agriculture and rotation of crops in his district, — which, from their precise and practical character will, I think, be received by those interested in the subject as a valuable addition to our previous knowledge. The following is the substance of his communication : —

Agriculture in this district, as I believe nearly over all Japan, — all that I have seen certainly,— is the chief occupation of the population. The land under cultivation here is exceedingly fertile, the soil being a light friable loam of considerable depth, and easily worked. The district is very hilly, but this does not, as in many other countries, lead to much waste land. In general the Japanese makes the most of his farm, and in many instances the hills are terraced with prodigious labour, and cultivated in a skillful manner, and this often carried on to a surprising height. 'In an extended view of the country, in any commanding situation,' the Consul remarks very truly, 'a bald or barren appearance is nowhere presented. On the contrary, one unbroken expanse of abundant vegetation and verdure is to be seen throughout the year. Again, what might appear to some persons to be waste land is not so.' Whether from the force of custom or by law, the Japanese so regulates his land that each part will have time to rest and recreate itself for several years. But while this desirable object is aimed at, no part of the land is allowed to remain *perfectly* idle. The same principle in action with the brain and intellectual capacity seems equally applicable here — and *change of occupation* suffices to restore the exhausted powers, or give the needful rest. In fact, as the earth, like the human mind, can never be said to be wholly unoccupied or unproductive — the first in its idleness producing fruit too often of an undesirable kind, and the land if left to itself a plentiful crop of weeds — the true

principle would seem to have been adopted by the Japanese,— in never allowing the land to be wholly fallow or unemployed. Thus when not producing edible crops the ground is planted with trees of whatever kind the owner may think best, and by the time that it is again to be brought into cultivation those trees turn out to be useful timber. When the traveller sees a large space, whether on hill or level land, covered with trees and shrubs, and apparently in a wild neglected state, he may, perhaps, infer that the Japanese agriculturist is unthrifty or negligent, and that so much land is far from being turned to its proper account. But this would be a great mistake. The careful and general cultivation of trees and shrubs by the Japanese, serves many useful as well as ornamental purposes. Within the limits of this consular district during the past year many hills might be seen the sides and summits of which were being cleared of trees;— and others which had recently been under cultivation were carefully laid down under crops of trees. The Japanese cannot in truth afford to leave any part of the land idle, because, in the first place, there is population pressing on the means of subsistence derived from the soil, whose every want has been for centuries supplied from that source and their waters. And in the next place, almost all rents and revenues are paid in kind — principally in rice. A feudal system prevails; but beyond this, what are the special conditions under which land is held and cultivated cannot be ascertained with any fullness, or accuracy of detail. The special relations of landlord and tenant, and the particulars of sub-letting, are not well known. In the Japanese social scale the *Hi-yak-sho*, or farmer, holds the second place. What place the mere labourer occupies, and the relative value of his life, was rather curiously illustrated in an official communication from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs respecting the execution of two of the 'vilaine' class at Nagasaki, condemned to death for having caused the death of one of the 'Odin's' men found dead in the street, with his jaw broken and other signs of violence.

The Admiral, Sir James Hope, wrote to me to request the sentence might be commuted for some less serious punishment, as he was not satisfied that the deceased might not have been himself in some degree to blame, as it was known he was drunk when last seen, probably shortly before he met with his death. To this the Ministers replied in the following terms: —

'The person who lately killed the British sailor at Nagasaki, was one of the lowest class named *Sookémats*, consequently he is not allowed to bring in any excuse whatever; for there is a law of long standing in our empire, that any one of the lower order of persons who causes death to another in consequence of a blow given, although unintentional, is to be beheaded; which punishment is called *geshinnin*. Then this is not a law that was made because the British nation was concerned, as human life is of permanent importance, and to deprive anyone of it is deserving of the highest punishment. The above-mentioned law was enacted to deter the evil disposition of everyone.'

Under such a law it behoves a *Sookémats* to beware how he strikes, since he is not allowed to plead 'any justification:' and so great is the value of any other life in Japan, that his must pay the forfeit if death in any way is caused by him. I do not know whether an old traditional law of this kind has anything to do with the exceedingly inoffensive character of the peasantry,—so far as I have had the means of judging in all my travels through the country,—or whether it may be taken as an evidence of the spirit of resistance having been crushed out of them under a feudal system, with such sharp and decisive penalties on the lowest classes for any act of violence.

Otherwise, in Japan as in China, agriculture is held in high esteem, and it is the policy of the rulers to encourage it in every way. All revenues of Daimios are estimated at so many ko-koos of rice. This I conceive, however, is merely a standard of value, just as a pound sterling is with us; and does not give any clue to the quantity of land these territories may contain. The standard of

superficial measurement is a *tsoobo*, being about 6 feet square, or, in precise terms, the side is 5 feet 11¼ inches, and containing, therefore, an area of 35·25 square feet instead of 36. In referring to the size of a farm, an *it-than* containing 300 *tsoobo* is the measurement generally mentioned; and 1 *it-than* of good rice land is calculated to produce 1,600 *its-go* (or about 532 lbs. avoirdupois) of clean rice at one cropping. The pound weight is divided into 160 equal parts, of which 120 make 1 lb. avoirdupois. The smallest Japanese grain measure is an *its-go*, which of clean rice contains 5⅓ oz. avoirdupois.

1 Its-go	=	⅓ lb.
10 Its-go (1 Ischo)	=	3⅓ „
10 Ischo (1 Itho)	=	30⅓ „
10 Itho (1 Its' ko-koo)	=	333⅓ „

The land-tax is said to be 3 itziboos silver per ithan of 300 tsoobo, or about 1*l.* per acre per annum. If paid in coin it is collected quarterly, but if paid in rice it is collected only once a year, when the crop has been gathered in, and in such case is said to be one sixth of the produce. The officers of the landlord or of the government make surveys annually at a time when they can best approximate to the amounts of the rents and other charges. If the yield is large the revenue will be in proportion; if deficient, by this mode of adjustment, the landlord, still only receiving his sixth, suffers with the cultivator.

Cropping and the *rotation* of crops are thoroughly understood by the Japanese. Rice is the staple food of the whole population, and it is grown abundantly in the district of Kanagawa, and over the country generally wherever the nature of the soil will admit the possibility, under the strongest compulsion of unwearied labour, irrigation and manuring all combined. Here the water required for irrigation is plentifully supplied by the streams and rivulets to be met with in all directions, and often most ingeniously turned from their natural course to wherever they may be required by the provident farmer.

As I have already stated there are several kinds or varieties of rice in this country, some adapted for growing on irrigated lands and others on higher and drier situations. All the valleys—and some are of great extent—are planted with rice; and crops of wheat, rape, peas, beans, &c., line the hill sides and high lands. It is said that oats are cultivated in some parts of the country, but none have been seen at the consular ports, nor did I come upon any in my travels through the interior. Nowhere in the world, perhaps, can the Japanese farmer be matched for the good order in which he keeps his farm. The fields are not only kept scrupulously free from weeds, but in other respects the order and neatness observable are most pleasing. The manure chiefly in use (urine and night soil) no doubt tends very materially to abate the growth of weeds; but this does not detract from the skill, industry, and diligence which the Japanese agriculturist brings to bear upon his land. Men, women, and children may be seen in the fields early and late, and the labour is chiefly manual. A plough drawn by bullocks or ponies is used sometimes, but, generally speaking, mattocks and hoes are the implements by which the land is prepared and every part of the field labour performed. The sketches already given, (see pp. 294-300) from Japanese designs, illustrative of their field labours, are wonderfully faithful in outline, character, and detail. Flails and winnowing machines similar to those in England are in common use, and a sort of carding machine also. Large fans worked by hand are also used in winnowing. To separate the rice from the husk a section of a large tree is scooped out so as to form a mortar in which the rice is pounded with a large wooden pestle or mallet, sometimes worked by hand, but generally fixed on a fulcrum and worked by the feet or by water power. Everywhere in Japan may be seen the most successful efforts to economise labour. Rice is often beaten out on the spot where it grows, to save the labour of carrying it. Thus the figure represented in the woodcut at p. 320 is not very frequently seen.

The chief grains and vegetables of the district near the capital and the port of Kanagawa are rice, millet, beans, peas, cotton, wheat, buck-wheat, tobacco, and a great variety of vegetables. Rice is grown as it is in China. The fields are ploughed and irrigated; the seed is first sown in small nurseries and transplanted in May or June, in

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small tufts of eight or ten plants, in rows about eight inches apart. The plants at this time are about six inches in height. The harvest commences in October. Wheat is extensively grown also. It is sown generally in drills, in November and December, and harvested in May and June. In some places the grain seems to be sound and good in quality, but in other parts bad, ill coloured, and greatly worm-eaten and blighted. The flour of the best quality is used in pastry and confectionery, and I can answer from a long experience that when good of its kind, it makes excellent bread. All the bread consumed at the Legation was made from it by my own cooks, and was unexceptionable both in appearance and flavour. With the Japanese, boiled rice takes the place of baker's bread,—the want of which they never feel. In this they

are like the Chinese. I remember a high official, who, on being told we did not grow rice, but eat bread, turned to his brother officer and said in the vernacular, 'Alas! wretched people, they have no rice!' So much are we creatures of habit and education, that to a well-educated and intelligent Chinese — it appeared impossible to substitute bread for rice, without undergoing the greatest privation. And the rice-eating nations carry their predilections to such an extent, that they reject with scorn rice grown in different localities. The Indian considers himself very ill-used if he is fed on the large-grained rice of China, regarding it as a coarser and less nutritious food; while the Chinese retorts upon him by thoroughly despising all Indian-grown rice, and eating it only on compulsion and under a famine pressure.

There are also five kinds of millet grown. These are sown in drills, in March or April, and harvested in September and October. It is generally made into cakes, and forms a common article of food. Cotton, too, in this district is a crop of some importance. It is sown in March or April, attains a height of from twelve to eighteen inches, and is harvested in September and October. Beans are largely grown, and of numerous varieties—some like the English field bean, and others like the French bean, though both inferior in flavour. They are grown for various purposes, and are eaten as food in a green state, and also when ripe. Some kinds are ground down into powder and made into cakes. Cattle are fed on some kinds, and soy is made from others. Rape is grown for its seed here, as in China, from which large quantities of oil are made, and it forms one of the more important crops. Peas of several kinds are also grown for food, and eaten both in a green and dry state. Buckwheat, Indian corn, tobacco and hemp, are all grown pretty largely, especially tobacco; almost every man and woman too smokes in Japan. The cultivation of vegetables is large, and although few are well flavoured and many are nearly savourless, they are largely consumed.

The potatoes alone are an exception, as to quality, being of tolerable flavour, though small. The principal vegetables are beans, peas, potatoes, sweet potatoes, turnips, carrots, lettuce, beetroot, arams, yams, tomatoes, ginger, the egg plant, gourds, melons, chilies, cucumbers, mushrooms, horse-radish, (the roots of several kinds of lilies are eaten also,) spinach, leeks, garlic, capsicums, endive, fennel; an enormous turnip-radish, often twelve or fourteen inches long, is consumed in great quantity, sliced and salted. The young shoots of the bamboo, sliced and boiled, are a great delicacy. It will be seen that if number and variety can make amends for quality, the Japanese have little to desire. I succeeded in introducing to this part of Japan, cauliflowers, Brussels sprouts, and Jerusalem artichokes, as well as some good lettuce, endive, parsley, and several kinds of cabbage. Mr. Loureiro, at Yokohama, reared a large garden full of these in great perfection, from some seeds I received from England.

Of the fruit trees of this part of Japan the blossoms seem to be the best part. These are certainly and more especially admired by the Japanese. Every tea garden in the vicinity of Yeddo tries to rival its neighbour in the beauty and size of the peach blossoms,—but it is very difficult to get good peaches to eat. They are all habitually plucked unripe. It does not seem to me that the Japanese have any idea what ripe fruit means. They certainly never treat themselves to it, and after two years' practice my market coolie could never be made to understand what constituted ripeness. When pressed by threat of dismissal, if he did not buy ripe peaches, and his attention was drawn to the colour and softness as signs, we found he used to pinch them 'black and blue' as the readiest means of meeting one of the conditions at least of softness; and no doubt in his own mind thought he had unreasonable people to deal with, when, instead of praise for his ingenuity, he fell into deeper disgrace. Their grapes are the only good fruit, and they come from some northern district; I never saw them growing. I was told they were chiefly the produce

of the Daimio's gardens, and were the perquisites of the female part of the establishment — affording by their sale 'pin money.' I have already spoken of the fruit trees, and I believe,—with more competent judges,—that all the principal kinds, with proper attention and skill, might be made equal to any in the world, looking to the climate and the soil. Apples, pears, plums, peaches, chestnuts, persimmons, oranges, pomegranates, figs, lemons, citrons, wild strawberries, all are here,—and nearly all equally bad —if we except, perhaps, the water melon, the persimmon and grapes.

Of the flora of Japan I have little new to add. Mr. Veitch, I think, calculated that the greater proportion of the plants growing wild were evergreen. Many of the flowering shrubs in the neighbourhood of Yeddo are of this class, giving a perennial richness of colour and foliage to the country, even during the winter months. Many of the conifers appear to be peculiar to Japan. The variety of showy flowering plants, however, is not so great as might be expected,—but for this the abundance and variety of foliage fully compensates, to all lovers of beautiful scenery. The Japanese are great amateur gardeners;—and some of the finest botanical specimens in this quarter of the globe, are to be found about Yeddo. In general, the Japanese gardener who rears flowers to any extent, does so with the view of selling them. He manages to have at all seasons a supply of the kinds most esteemed, and every day the flower vendor may be seen wandering about, offering his beautiful wares for sale, and pretty certain to find a buyer even among the poorest householders. To be sure their cost is usually small, (always excepting when a Foreign Minister is the purchaser,) and as every family has its household altar,—and among the daily offerings a bunch of flowers is never omitted, while their graves, too, are frequently decorated by the same simple offering of affection — the demand never fails.

Of some of the specimens of their dwarf-trees which I sent home, an account appeared in the 'Gardener's

Chronicle' of January 11, 1862; and as it is evidently from the pen of one much better able to do the subject justice than I can be, I give the following extract:—

'It is perfectly astonishing to see the amount of industry and perseverance which the Japanese must have devoted to the production of these plants. There were some little fir-trees, not more than a foot in height, and yet I counted upwards of fifty ties, by means of which the shoots were bent backward and forward in a zig-zag way. These little pines must have been very old, and many years must have been spent in bringing them to this state, as their growth under these unfavourable circumstances must have been slow in the extreme. There was also a specimen of Podocarpus or Dammara, with oval leaves beautifully striped with pure white. This was a large plant, two and a half feet high, and nearly as much through. It was evident that an old narrow-leaved Podocarpus, with a stem two inches in diameter, had been taken up, the roots cut in, and the stem headed down to within about eighteen inches of the soil, and then the roots crammed into as small a pot as possible. The stem had been cut off horizontally, and a circle of scions of the oval-leaved species inserted between the bark and the wood. Most of these had grown, and as they grew, the shoots were bent downwards, and twisted in and out, so that the stem was completely hidden in a dense mass of foliage. This interesting plant is now in the Royal Garden at Osborne. There were many other plants which proved that the Japanese gardeners are very clever in grafting, and employ many modes of performing the operation. There was one species of a Retinospora, the branches of which were bent backwards and forwards as usual, and these branches had been grafted with dozens of scions, at intervals of about an inch apart. It was only one here and there which had failed; nearly all had grown well, and made little tufts of shoots. Unfortunately this plant had died upon its voyage to England, and it is now deposited, with some other interesting examples of

dwarfed trees, in the Coniferous case in the Museum at the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew. Some camellias which were sent home at the same time show that the Japanese understand, and sometimes practise, the inarching of plants.

'The most valuable plants which have hitherto been introduced from Japan are the Conifera, of which there are many distinct kinds, some of them differing so widely from anything we already possess, that they will form quite a new feature in our landscapes. Also some curious new forms of chrysanthemums.'

For some farther details on the flora and succession of crops, I would refer those especially interested in the subject to Mr. Veitch's notes in the Appendix.*

* See Appendix C, Vol. I.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE NEW YEAR, 1860, AND WHAT IT BROUGHT — INCENDIARY FIRE AT YOKOHAMA—ASSASSINATION OF A LINGUIST AT THE GATE OF THE BRITISH LEGATION — GLOOMY PROSPECTS — FIRE AT THE FRENCH LEGATION THE SAME NIGHT.

THE new year, 1860, began with the most enchanting weather. The sun was bright, with a clear sky, and a hoar-frost silvering the lawn, while here and there on the banks a slight drift remained from the snow of the day before. The thermometer was standing at 32° when I got up; and I had to break the ice to get my bath. If our political and commercial horizon had only been as bright as the sky, Japan would have not wanted attractions of a rare kind. As it was, no one could with any safety predict what our relations might be at the end of the year thus pleasantly begun.

Five days had not passed over, in effect, before a courier arrived from Yokohama, with intelligence that this improvised wooden settlement had been in part destroyed by fire, the conflagration beginning in the part occupied by the Europeans. The French Consular Agent, himself a merchant, happened to be at the Legation on a visit, and he was left in doubt whether his house and property had not been destroyed also. As there can be no insurance in Japan, such a catastrophe involves a total loss, it may be, of all a man possesses in the world. One could understand his feeling when he exclaimed that he would have given a thousand dollars to know the truth,—instead of being left in doubt and suspense, which is to many the most intolerable of all states of mind. Several of the residents had been

burned out of house and home—young beginners too, who, with little capital, had probably lost their all. The only consolation the case admitted was to be found, perhaps, in the admirable conduct of the Governor, the officials generally, and the firemen, of whom there are organised brigades. Property was effectively protected from pillage, and good order preserved; while every exertion was made to stop the progress of the flames. This was in pleasant contrast with the conduct observed at Nagasaki in a similar case, where the officials themselves helped to plunder—so it was reported by the Consul—and no adequate efforts were made either to protect moveable property or to extinguish the fire;—in pleasant contrast, it must unfortunately be added, to the conduct of officials and firemen at a much later period, in much more serious circumstances,—when the whole Japanese settlement, and, by its contiguity, the large European quarter, were threatened with total destruction—and when, in effect, nearly one-half of the Japanese houses were completely destroyed. They seemed to think the evil too great for their means of coping with it, and so let the fire rage, doing nothing, until some of our blue-jackets under the orders of the Commodore, Lord John Hay, and Captain Faucon, the Commander of H.I.M.S. 'Dordogne,' with their men, proceeded vigorously to pull down some of the houses,—as the sole mode, in the absence of water, of checking the devastating progress of the flames.

In the midst of their efforts, a boatful of shipwrecked people arrived, lighted to their haven by the conflagration —a captain and his wife with an infant at her breast, and fourteen other people; who had been eight days and nights in an open boat! What cruel sufferings must often be endured in this life, of which those who are more fortunate in all the conditions of existence—living in peace and security, know nothing! And when it meets our eye in a short paragraph of a newspaper, how often do we pass on to some more pleasing item of news, scarce bestowing a thought on the subject,—and never

realising the facts, or the sufferings they imply. For this reason, perhaps, if for no other, it is 'good that we should be afflicted,' each in our own being and sphere, for the whole world might otherwise grow too utterly callous and careless of human suffering and trial; and that would be a worse evil to mankind, and to each unit, than their share of both, met in a right spirit. This philosophy comes late to many, and only after large experience of the world's trials and its ways; but it is well that we should learn even at last to pray,—not for exemption from danger or sorrow,—but courage to bear our lot, and grace to do what is right, under the sorest trials.

While yet occupied by these events, we were startled by another of more immediate and personal import. It was near midnight. Mr. Eusden, the Japanese secretary, was standing by my side before saying good night, when the longest and most violent shock of an earthquake yet experienced since our arrival, brought everyone to his feet, with a sudden impulse to fly from under the shaking roof. It began at first very gently, but rapidly increased in the violence of the vibrations,—until the earth seemed to rock under our feet, and to be heaved up by some mighty explosive power in the cauldrons beneath. The Chinese attribute earthquakes to the uneasy movements of the Great Dragon; the Japanese to similar disturbing causes in a tortoise on which the earth is poised, or the flapping of a whale's tail; but not even Siebold can discover where the whale has his *habitat* in Japanese cosmogony! Whoever has looked down Vesuvius, however, when it is in full blast, and heard the hoarse roar of the waves of boiling lava as the liquid fire rushes past the great vent, and dashes through its blackened lips, scattering the molten sulphur high and far,—will have a much more lively idea for the rest of his life whence earthquakes come,—if not of pandemonium itself.

The 'Saturday Review,' some time ago, had an article headed, 'A Week of Horrors.' A shipwreck, the destruction of a foreign settlement by fire, and an earthquake—

the incidents of our Christmas week at Yeddo—might fairly lay claim to the title! One of my guests exclaimed, after enumerating them one by one, as he was preparing to return, *Il faut avouer que ce n'est pas gai!* Still, grave or gay, the day sped on, and weeks even slipped away,—when we were recalled to a consciousness of the flight of time and an outer world, by the arrival of a Commissariat officer, with orders to purchase 3,000 baggage-horses for our army transport in China! This seemed a very forlorn hope. Horses there were certainly, in considerable numbers,—but how were we to ask the Japanese for the means of making war on their neighbour and ally?

To my surprise, I confess, they did not point-blank refuse to entertain the question, but only opposed various difficulties founded on an alleged poverty in cattle, the shortness of the time specified, &c. In the end they consented; but the whole business was so managed as to heap troubles on everybody — deceptions, vexatious delays,— *yaconinerie* everywhere; and, as a natural consequence, mendacity and extortion were the order of the day. The horses were bought and stabled — some few shipped; but before the bulk of the animals that had been the cause of incessant anxiety and trouble for many months could be embarked, for want of transport,—news arrived that they were not required! Pekin had surrendered; peace had been proclaimed; and a new convention signed in the capital. The news was pleasant enough, and must have had its significance with the Council of State in Yeddo. It was probably more welcome to the yaconins, however, than their masters. A sale of the horses on hand had to be effected. Horses for which we had been made *by them* to pay an average price of $30 apiece, because they were so *scarce*—could only be disposed of to the chief of the fraternity, because they were so plentiful, for $5 each! This was, indeed, to reverse the rule of trade, and to buy in the dearest market and sell in the cheapest! But there was no remedy;

and when I mentioned the circumstance to the Ministers, as somewhat singular, that horses in their country should be so scarce and dear when wanted by us,—and so super-abundant and cheap when we had them to sell, as to be worth nothing,—they only smiled, and evidently thought it a good joke, observing that they had recommended us not to buy them!

I have greatly outstripped the progress of events, however, for these were transactions which took place six months later. But it will save the necessity of any farther reference to the same subject. The first month of the year was yet young when a report, of some significance apparently, reached me from Yokohama to the effect that, during the two preceding days, a sudden demand had arisen among the Japanese for firearms; and every foreign merchant and store-keeper was besieged with applications for revolvers, muskets, &c. By treaty these are prohibited articles, and cannot be sold to any one in Japan unless to the authorities themselves—the Government looking, as I have already had occasion to remark, with great jealousy on any arming of the population. But the sale being illegal according to treaty, everybody knew would be no impediment to the acquisition of as many as might be on hand,—if Japanese purchasers could be found willing to pay a good price for them!

What did it mean? Did it bode some revolutionary proceeding on the part of the Japanese against their own Government,—or some design against the lives of foreigners themselves? Even that would not have prevented money being made by their sale, but it lent a new interest to the question! If the latter, the time did not seem happily chosen, as the bay of Yeddo, so often bare of any means of protection from foreign ships of war, could now boast of one in the 'Powhattan' United States steam-frigate, waiting to take over to America a Japanese Diplomatic Mission for the exchange of ratifications.

With these uneasy elements in motion—rumours of danger—the month drew near its close. It was a Sunday

afternoon (January 29), when, just returned from a visit to the American Minister, who was unwell, I heard a hasty step outside my room, and Captain Marten, the Commander of H.M.S. 'Roebuck,' who happened to be a guest at the Legation, threw back the sliding panel. 'Come quickly; your linguist is being carried in, badly wounded.' My heart misgave me that his death-knell had struck. I had for some time been under a conviction that danger was at hand in some shape, and his frequent collisions with the insolent retainers of Daimios, who never lost an opportunity of insulting him in the streets, had naturally turned my attention in that direction. I was even seriously meditating sending him out of the country, for his own sake,—though his knowledge of the Japanese made him very useful, if not necessary, to me, in the first months of our location. It was not his own desire, however, and I had hesitated, for we all dislike to yield to intimidation. I felt, nevertheless, that a more discreet and better tempered man than he had any pretensions to be,—would have been insecure; and latterly he had received a distinct warning, that it was determined to take his life. But man's previsions and best precautions seem idle things, when the fatal hour has come. It even would seem, at times, as if we were especially and fatally blinded to the necessary consequences of our own acts,—and thus led on step by step to do and say the very things which, could the veil of Isis be only lifted for a second, we should most carefully and anxiously avoid, and thus avert the impending destruction. He had escaped shipwreck,—long an exile and proscribed outcast from his own country, nothing less than such great and unforeseen events as the renewal of relations with Western Powers could ever have restored him to it,—and he came back only to find a bloody grave, though it seemed at the time that the dearest wishes of the exile's heart were being gratified, by the unexpected way opened for his return. There is an observation in one of Mr. Helps's essays * which must often have occurred

* Companions of my Solitude.

in similar circumstances. 'Frequently it seems as if the faculties of man were not quite adequate as yet to his situation—the individual seems the sport of circumstances;' and he goes on to observe how these often seem (maliciously, as it were) to provide a man with 'a good opportunity for working out the errors of his mind and system,' —when he strains his fortune to the uttermost and it breaks under him, as it did with Napoleon in the great Russian campaign and retreat from Moscow. Dankirche, in his way, had afforded a fatal illustration. He was ill-tempered, proud, and violent: and in returning to his own country he just brought these qualities,—rendered worse by long impunity in America and China,—where they were most sure to bring him to grief. They were characteristic of his own race, but among themselves they are kept down by frequent letting of blood.

I found him stretched on a shutter, hardly conscious,—though he turned his eyes when I spoke to him, as though he heard and recognised me. He never spoke, and I saw at once that he was mortally wounded. Death's finger had already been laid on his quivering lip. One or two convulsive throes shook his whole frame while we were getting some of his clothing off to examine the wounds, and then, without a struggle, he died. There was something awfully sudden in the catastrophe; he was alive and among us not ten minutes before. It appeared he had gone down to the gate of the Legation, opening upon a wide space close to the high road,—and was leaning against the entrance or doorway to a small nest of houses at the end of a lane close by,—immediately under the flagstaff, and with men, women, and children about, in broad daylight,—when one or two men stole stealthily down the lane behind where he stood, and a short sword was buried to the hilt in his body, transfixing him as he stood. He staggered a few paces towards the porter at the gate, who drew the sword out from his back, and there he fell bathed in his blood. It had, indeed, been a home thrust. The point had entered

at his back, and came out above the right breast; and thus buried in his body the assassin left it, and disappeared as stealthily as he came, without a hand or a voice being raised to stop him. The deed must have been seen by many, but all, save one woman, I believe, denied seeing the blow struck. Either they were told to do so,—or knew that their own lives might pay the forfeit of any indiscretion. With the authorities on the one side, and the assassin and his friends on the other,— justice in all such cases is no better than an idle dream. I felt certain from the beginning that there was no hope.

Who was the assassin, and what was the motive? Suspicion rested more particularly on two, the first a Daimio's drunken retainer, who attacked him in the street a few days previously, and had been arrested. The man, however, was so violent in his denunciations of vengeance, that the police were intimidated and let him go, after taking his name, or the name he chose to give! The second was my chief cook, lately discharged, and who had been heard to say somebody would kill 'Dan' before very long; and he was in the kitchen a day or two before, with two swords in his belt. Both were apprehended, but nothing came of it. I have no doubt the authorities knew perfectly well who the parties were, whether one or several. Perhaps they may have been compelled to commit the Hara-Kiri, but I should doubt it. It is more probable that it was wished their renegade subject—whom they considered as dangerous, 'knowing too much' (a grave offence and source of danger always in Japan)—might be put away; and if they did not themselves take such means of removing him, were not sorry it was done for them. I am quite satisfied they knew the blow was coming, from the visit of a Governor of Foreign Affairs a few days previously, who saw my Japanese secretary and spent a long time in denunciations of Dankirche, urging with singular pertinacity the expediency of dismissing him at once.

Of course if he had been dismissed prior to the assassina-

tion, his death would have been a matter to give them little concern; but they had some scruples perhaps in permitting the murder of a servant of the Legation.

This was the third atrocious murder in public thoroughfares, without brawl or quarrel, or immediate provocation of any kind. Two were in broad daylight, and all evidently *deliberate and planned assassinations.* No justice had been done, or redress obtained, in any of the cases. At midnight two of the Governors of Foreign Affairs came to offer me their condolences, and concert measures, or seem to do so. They indignantly repelled the supposition that the Tycoon's government could not pursue and arrest a Daimio's retainer, or even if needful his master. But such has been alleged to be the fact by Kœmpfer and others. While discussing this matter, news came that *Sacagi*, the temple where Monsieur de Bellecourt, the French Chargé d'Affaires, resided, was on fire; and a few minutes later the whole party appeared—the French Consul-General at the head. 'Nous voici, nous venons vous demander de l'hospitalité—l'incendie nous a atteint!' Then followed Monsieur l'Abbé in dressing-gown, a glass thermometer in one hand, which had been committed to his charge by an absent friend, and a breviary in the other—science and religion together, and faithful to both trusts. The Chancelier in slippers followed, with a revolver and a *bonnet de nuit*, one in each hand. It seemed as if a veritable Pandora's box had been opened. An assassination in one Legation and a fire in another within six hours! My spare rooms were full,—but we made of course the best shift we could for our unexpected guests; and about three o'clock in the morning we all retired, sad enough at heart, and quite worn out. Verily I thought, as I prepared to take some rest, this country on experience proves to be something very different from the paradise represented by recent travellers, who must have looked through very peculiar coloured glasses to see everything so completely 'en beau.' *I* felt disposed to join in the prayer of 'the privileged Grimkou' who wrote

from King Frederick William's savage court, '*J'espère que le bon Dieu me fera voir une porte pour sortir de cette maudite Galère !*'

We buried the poor fellow a few days later, and to mark our sympathy and *solidarité* in such an outrage to the flag of a Treaty Power, members of all the Legations, together with two of the Governors of Foreign Affairs, followed his remains to the grave. A considerable crowd was collected on the passage to the cemetery, situated by the banks of the river which runs through Yeddo, and at some distance from the British Legation. Arrived at the temple, the great bell tolled to announce the commencement of the service. Then the priests in stole and mitre, or something strikingly resembling both, took their places in two rows. The abbot, seated in a high chair in the centre, faced a temporary altar, on which tapers and incense were burning. A chanted litany followed, in which the priests were accompanied by the occasional sonorous tones of two pairs of cymbals, a drum, and a small musical bell. This continued for a quarter of an hour, when the abbot or superior rose from his chair, and, closing his hands and eyes, prayed with great fervour,—for the soul or spirit of the departed, it is to be presumed. He then took off his curiously shaped head appendages and approached the altar, burned more incense, and on the spade (of wood) which was to turn the earth being brought to him, he waved it thrice on every side and over the incense, to consecrate it. Then followed another litany, and with a clash of the cymbals and a double beat of the gong and drum, the ceremony was over, and its termination formally announced by the Superior crossing the temple to where I stood, and making me a lowly reverence. The coffin was then carried to the grave and lowered into it by the attendants, while two of the priests brought a tablet, with the name of the dead inscribed upon it.

Four white lanterns were placed at the head and foot, the earth shovelled in—'earth to earth, dust to dust'—and the murdered man was left to his rest in Japanese soil. Long

as he had been in Christian countries he had never entered into any communion, as he had himself declared but a few days before his death. He had prayer-books and bibles given him by many missionaries in China and elsewhere, but never seemed to have accepted any faith; in this taking too much after the class he least loved, the yaconins and officials. That he should be buried as he had lived therefore, with the rites and usages of his own land, was the only natural course to follow; and if decorum and impressiveness could give any value to a funeral service, there was nothing wanting in this! It was impossible for a Protestant not to be struck with the outward similarity between the ceremonial of this Buddhist burial with those of the Greek and Roman churches. The altar, the tapers, the incense, the very costume and gestures of the priests, were in many striking particulars alike — a resemblance too close to have been fortuitous: but whence the seeming identity is yet a question, and one which I do not pretend to discuss. The Japanese received Buddhism from China in the sixth century, and then, or at some later date, may have got some of these forms. As the body was carried out of the temple to the grave, two white doves, suddenly liberated, circled round and flew up into the cloudless sky, intended apparently as symbols of the flight of the spirit;—but why two instead of one I could never get satisfactorily explained.

Returning from the cemetery—which the Japanese government, with considerate prevision, had urged me to decide upon,—not only in reference to this one burial, but 'for the decent interment of all who might hereafter follow' (in the course of nature, it is to be hoped they meant), I could not help reflecting on the curious spectacle the procession and burial had presented in this long-sealed capital of a jealously secluded people and empire. How swiftly events had crowded upon them since Commodore Perry's first visit and treaty in 1854. Not six years, and yet three ports were opened, and many successive treaties had been entered into. At this moment three Foreign

Representatives had their residence in the midst of the people,—not half reconciled yet to this sudden and total change in their relations with the rest of the world;—of which the murdered man just followed to the grave was but too grievous a proof.

The head of a Diplomatic Mission in such a country, to a great degree isolated, and unsupported by any of the material means of enforcing respect or good faith, has, it must be admitted, an arduous and trying post at all times; but under such circumstances as these—when his servants are openly struck down at his gate, where they had often before been wantonly insulted by these disorderly retainers of Daimios, who are themselves in a great degree above the law—it is hard to say in what direction efforts can be made to any purpose! Every day seemed to furnish evidence of the futility of any arguments addressed to their sense of justice, or their good faith. Still it was within the domain of diplomacy. Indeed, there could be no question of compulsion or force,—for, with five Treaty Powers, not one of these permanently maintained a ship of war at Yeddo, or on the station even,—though one under the British flag appeared, from time to time. Sometimes, as I have said, for weeks not a pendant was seen in the waters. It is true, the mercantile interests in existence hitherto had not been large,—but neither could they ever become so *unless the provisions of treaties should be better carried out*; and the experience of the past six months held out little promise of the Japanese government, of its own free will taking the necessary steps,—if they saw that a deliberate system of obstruction and bad faith might be pursued without risk or damage. If such were to be the permanent state of our relations, it had perhaps been better, and upon the whole more satisfactory to all parties, to have left the Japanese to their much-prized isolation, instead of putting a constraint upon them to open their ports, and then leaving them to their own devices. But this came, in part at least, of the too flattering opinions entertained by those who accompanied the first negotiators of

treaties. According to the clear-sighted travellers who, upon a ten days' or ten weeks' experience, dashed off a florid picture of 'Paradise Regained,' of bliss and innocence, which unfortunately existed only in their own imaginations,—and pronounced a favourable judgement on the character and government of a whole people,—'The Japanese rulers were only too happy to enter into amicable relations with Foreign Powers, and though a little timid (the result of inexperience and innocence), were most anxious to carry out all the provisions of treaties with scrupulous fidelity!' One looked in vain at this time, for any trace of these desirable dispositions;—and could only wonder upon what foundation such superstructures had been reared? To all appearance, that 'forward delusive faculty,' as Bishop Butler styles the 'imagination,' has much to answer for in respect to Japan. A more systematic or determined policy of obstruction and passive resistance combined, than that which the Government had perseveringly adhered to, could not be conceived. And never were solemn treaties and the most indisputable rights of nations set aside on more futile and puerile pretexts! Either the treaties themselves were a mistake,— and the whole policy they were intended to inaugurate, or the means since taken by the Western Powers to make them something more than waste paper, had been hardly calculated to attain the desired end. Japan seemed fast learning a lesson she would undoubtedly be slow to forget — that the Western Powers, notwithstanding the eagerness and determination they show to make treaties with a new country —are little disposed to take the necessary steps to cause them to be respected. And if they should come to the conclusion, based upon a certain experience — that every obligation contracted *may be systematically evaded with impunity*—if only such evasion be carried on under cover of professions of amity and good faith — it will be hard to get any substantial advantage out of treaties. The Japanese have no confidence or trust in Foreign Powers or

their subjects (they certainly, if truth must be told, have little reason to admire many of the first pioneers of Western civilisation and commerce flung on their shores); and if no steps are to be taken to alter this state of things;—then it would certainly seem a grievous mistake to have entered into any treaty relations with them! For where there is no confidence between one nation and another, there can be no alliance worth preserving;—and assuredly where truth and justice are wantonly violated, there can be no confidence. That reflections such as these should present themselves at this time, will scarcely be matter of surprise. It is never wise, however, to take too despondent a view of affairs, either national or private, and I reflected that it was yet early days. Undoubtedly the Japanese were inexperienced in foreign relations; while the traditions of those which existed in past generations, were only calculated to suggest doubt and mistrust. Something might fairly be put down to their utter ignorance of all the conditions by which profitable and friendly intercourse is to be maintained with other nations. Then again the currency had been a great difficulty and an obstacle in the way of all satisfactory commercial relations.* The Government, once more, as in days of old, under the Spanish and Portuguese *regime*, had seen with anger and alarm their gold shipped away, never to return. But that danger removed (by the reduction of the gold and silver to the European standard) there was some hope of the irritation and alarm subsiding with the cause.

With this glimpse of a brighter dawn I was fain to be content, and conclude, in respect to trade and its future prospects in Japan, that,—as Burns wrote to Gavin Hamilton of a very different matter,—

'It may do weel, for aught it 's done yet,
But only—it 's no just begun yet.'

* Owing in some measure, no doubt, to the unprecedented clause in all the treaties—first introduced in the American—that all foreign gold and silver coins should freely circulate in Japan, and be exchangeable with Japanese coin, weight for weight, without reference to the totally different rate of value, as by law established in Japan, between their gold and silver.

Ill-omened and blood-stained, the month of January had passed away; and we were already far into February without any very new or startling incident to make an epoch in our otherwise monotonous existence, when a message came to my colleague, the Minister of the United States, to request he would not leave his home, because the presents from the Mikado to the Tycoon would be passing. I was happy not to receive a similar message, as on the last occasion the Governors charged with its delivery had been somewhat curtly answered. Once acceded to, they would soon have found a pretext for shutting us up in our houses 350 days out of the 365, much as the Tycoon himself was! A day or two later, I received intimation from Mr. Harris that it had just been reported to him fifty men had been seized the night before by the police—it having been discovered that they had gone down to Yokohama to murder all the foreigners. There was, perhaps, little or no foundation for the rumour, and no truth in the alleged seizure; but such rumours were much too frequently in circulation to be pleasant, or wholly without significance. I think it was about this time that the Abbé Girard, attached to the French Legation, was returning to Yeddo from Kanagawa, and seated outside a tea-house while his horse was being fed, when a two-sworded individual came up to him, and finding he could speak Japanese, said to him, 'You know you are all to be killed?' The abbé, treating it rather as a jest, replied, 'No really—when then?' 'When?—soon—in a single night!' Cut off from all reliable means of information by the Japanese authorities, such sinister intimations as these strike unpleasantly on the ear, since who can tell whether there be any real foundation or not?

While thus speculating on our actual position, day after day bringing nothing reassuring, we approached the end of February. On the 26th I was roused from my sleep at four o'clock in the morning by the arrival of an express from H.M. Consul at Kanagawa, with intelligence that about eight o'clock in the evening, two captains of Dutch mer-

chant vessels in harbour, had been slain in the main street of Yokohama—a repetition, in all its leading circumstances and unprovoked barbarity, of the assassination perpetrated on the Russians. They had been set upon in the dark; and head and limbs had nearly been severed from their bodies, as though butchers had assailed them with their cleavers. One had his shoulder nearly cut through, besides gashes across head, face, and chest, any one of which must have been fatal. The second appears to have seized the sword with his left hand, which, drawn through his grasp, had severed three of the fingers; and, still struggling, he must have warded off the next blow at his head with his right hand, and run nearly a hundred steps from his butchers, as the hand was found at that distance from his body. He also was frightfully mangled. Where was this to end? This was the fourth assassination in eight months, and six lives had been ruthlessly sacrificed. First a Russian officer and servant, next a servant of the Consul of France,—then my linguist (both slain in open day); now two Dutch captains.

I saw the Ministers of Foreign Affairs a few hours later, heard the usual expressions of regret, and assurances of effort to trace the assassins, meaning nothing; and with almost a certainty that nothing would be done. I felt bound to tell their Excellencies that a government so deficient, either in the power or the will to secure life and property in the country, was one with which it was difficult, and might become impossible to maintain any treaty relations.

'Yet had they not taken all the measures that could be conceived? Did I, then, give them no credit for the exertions made?'

My reply was in substance that, 'I could not say what measures they had taken. I could only judge by the results, and these were *nil*,—while the assassins were at large and unpunished; nothing had been done. So long as they could neither prevent crime nor punish it, there

could be no security for life; and without that, there could be no stable relations either of trade or amity.'

It seemed very hopeless! Russian sailors were drunk on shore I believe during the day — unfortunately too common an incident — wherever sailors of any nation get leave. Thus the very men of war that should be a protection, become a new source of danger. Whether this last murder was a mere wanton brutality; — vengeance for some offence, — or with a political object, we shall never know. Rumour said the latter; and in any case the two victims were unoffending,— one was an old man upwards of sixty.

And where was the remedy? — What could be done? Even such successive acts of assassination did not form a *casus belli*, nor were we prepared to make war. Still less were we so disposed. Nothing, indeed, could be farther from the desire either of the Government or the nation at home, than a war with the Japanese. The one little ship sent to the station, it was hoped 'might be dispensed with during the operations in the north of China,'— that is for three or four months probably! To demand a heavy indemnity for the surviving families seemed the only practical means of inducing *serious effort* on the part of the Government. If a life cost them $50,000 they would probably be at some pains to prevent its loss. Their hearts or consciences it seemed difficult to touch; the only thing remaining was to try their pockets. It might appear very dignified to say, as Count Mouravieff did, 'Russia did not sell the blood of her subjects;' but then they should have been avenged — made costly, in some way, to those who sat supinely by and allowed them to be sacrificed.

Another month of the eventful year had passed; it was already the first of March as I sat finishing a mail for Hakodadi. Midnight had arrived, and I was about to forget, if I could, my daily troubles and anxieties in sleep, when the discordant clang of the alarm bells broke sharp and clear on the stillness of the night — calling the popu-

lation from their beds to look to their own safety, — and, if needful, help to extinguish the fire of their neighbours. It seemed as if few nights passed over without a fire in some quarter or other of this ill-fated city, often destroying whole streets. How should it be otherwise — all wood and no water! One or two bells only at first were heard, then soon the note of alarm was taken up by others. A fierce gale was raging, and grievous destruction of property, if not of life, was inevitable. The servants told us it was about three miles off, but, the wind blowing in our direction, they seemed to think it might even reach us at Tozengee! Scarce a day or night passed without some alarm of the kind, and often the melancholy tocsin was heard more than once in the twenty-four hours. They are miserably deficient in the first great element of safety, *water*. By law a tub of water is kept at every door, and buckets are often seen on the roofs of the houses, but they have no supply beyond what their wells afford. In other respects they seem to have a well organised system of rousing the people, and giving information even as to the place; or at least the direction and distance of the fire. If it be a long way off, a single stroke is repeated at short intervals; if nearer, but not in the immediate neighbourhood, it is one — two, and then a pause; but if the whole quarter and people are to be aroused to aid on the spot, it is one, and then a sharp second, and third, repeated loud and quick in continued succession. There is something very disturbing in this combination of earthquakes and perpetually recurring conflagrations, the latter destroying hundreds or even thousands of houses in a few hours. Both often arouse you from your sleep, with a most uncomfortable sense of insecurity.

I am free to confess my dislike of earthquakes increases with each visitation; I cannot say 'familiarity breeds contempt.' You are sitting quietly at your table, or, with a book in your hand,—seeking very likely to forget your own thoughts, or actual existence, in those of others: when your chair begins to vibrate, at first gently, as if merely

to rouse your attention;—then the ground under your feet catches the contagion, and you feel there is an earthquake to meet, with what courage you may. Will it bring the house down over your head? Open a chasm to bury you in its depths? Or merely make you feel as though you, not the earth below, had been taken with an ague fit? Who can tell? Who knows anything of the law of earthquakes? In the mean time, while these comfortable reflections flash through your mind — as in moments of danger a whole chapter of accidents and dilemmas will occasionally crowd themselves, without the slightest regard to time or fitness— the vibration continues in spasmodic intermittence, diminishes, then again recommences with greater violence —all the beams and rafters groan and creak,—the house swaying with a very perceptible movement under each shock! Will it come down or not? The question is interesting and important; for on your giving a right answer and acting accordingly, issues in life and eternity may depend,—and yet you know no more than the trembling dog at your feet, what are the chance and probabilities. Some take what they conceive the safer course under all circumstances, and whether up or in bed, dressed or undressed, rush out of the house into the street or some open space. But what can assure them that the precise spot they choose for safety may not, the instant they reach it, sink beneath them with a horrible crash, and precipitate them into depths unfathomable of molten lava? So far as I myself am concerned, I feel like a man on a field of battle in the thick of the fight, with round shot and missiles of death flying in every direction. Who but the novice ever thinks of ducking his head or trying to dodge them? The hopelessness of the attempt insensibly steadies his nerves. Not knowing in the least, or able in the slightest degree to divine, what is to follow from moment to moment, I feel so entirely helpless before destructive forces of which I can neither measure the length, nor depth, nor height, while yet in the hands of a Power '*able to save*,'—that I seem to lack all impulse or

desire to make any sudden effort to reach the open space, —which, for aught I can tell, may be, after all, the most dangerous place within reach!

'Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning,' says the Psalmist, as though to warn us that even to sorrow and danger and trouble, or any other evil that can afflict us,—there is a limit, and joy may yet succeed, as morning succeeds to night. Therefore should we strive on and hope, not faint or despair. So daylight came to us in Yeddo, after nights of fires and murders and earthquakes. As I rode into the country the next day, not even a mounted escort of yaconins—which the Foreign Representatives had at last and very reluctantly (I can answer at least for myself) accepted, at the earnest requisition of the Japanese Ministers—could wholly mar the beauty of the country, bright and fresh in all the vernal honours of spring. In the midst of death, and alarms of massacre, with interludes of fires and earthquakes, spring was smiling upon us. The peach trees were bursting into blossom, and the air each day was becoming more genial. What strange contrasts and discordances between the sunny clime and beautiful country, in ever-varying hue and form as far as the eye could reach, and the deeds which were done in the land! On the 11th of March, I find it noted, in a brief diary of dates and occurrences, that I went to the American Legation to attend the first Protestant service ever performed in Yeddo. An American missionary officiated, and, out of courtesy to the British Minister, I presume, since he was not an Episcopalian of either Church, our service was read. The members of the two Legations, and the American Consul from Kanagawa—nine persons in all, formed the whole congregation; but where 'two or three are gathered together,' we are assured that He in whose name they pray will be with them; and in that faith we met in this pagan city, teeming with hostile elements to us and our faith. We had no chaplain of our own, or medical officer either, in the establishment as originally organised.

To attend a religious service of any kind, therefore, formed a sort of epoch among the Legations. It would have been difficult perhaps to find a post in the whole range of diplomatic or consular appointments where both were more likely to be needed *in extremis*. But it has well been said, 'In the field of life (in diplomacy as in war) there must occasionally be dangerous work to do, and somebody must do it, whatever be the disadvantages of position, or shortcomings in the provision made by anticipation to meet it.'

CHAPTER XVII.

MURDER OF THE REGENT ON HIS WAY TO THE TYCOON'S PALACE — NARRATIVE OF WHAT TOOK PLACE — GENERAL ALARM AND SENSE OF INSECURITY — THE LEGATIONS SURROUNDED BY JAPANESE GUARDS FOR THEIR PROTECTION FROM ATTACK — THE TIMES OF THE GUELFS AND GHIBELINES RESUSCITATED — SUBSEQUENT ACTS OF THE CONSPIRATORS, AND HOW THEY DISPOSED OF THE REGENT'S HEAD — POPULAR STORIES AND LEGENDS — STORY OF THE FORTY-SEVEN LONINS — INFLUENCE OF SUCH LITERATURE AND HERO WORSHIP ON THE MORALITY AND ACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

THE rising settlement of Yokohama had already spread over a considerable area — all, indeed, that the foreign merchants on the spot could put their hands upon was occupied; and new houses of substantial character were taking the place of the flimsy superstructures which had been run up in anticipation, by the Japanese authorities. The actual amount of business done, apart from the purchase of gold kobangs, was not great; and yet it was much larger than had been anticipated by many. Some matters connected with the locations and the custom-house administration had taken me to the spot, on a visit of a few days to H.M.'s Consul at Kanawaga, in the month of March; and, on my return to Yeddo, the first news that greeted me as I entered the Legation was of so startling and incredible a character, that I hesitated to believe what was told me. The GOTAIRO, or Regent of the empire, was said to have been set upon and assassinated in broad daylight, on his way to the palace—and this, too, not a hundred yards from his own gates, and in the very midst of a large retinue of his retainers! I confess I felt all the more indisposed to credit the intelligence, that I found the Japanese officials making great

demonstrations of alarm, and wanting to quarter half-a-dozen armed police in one of my apartments — 'for my protection.' But concurrent information soon left no doubt, that some bold and desperate attempt on his life *had* been made—whether successfully or not, it was impossible to learn with certainty. Some said he had been killed on the spot and his head carried off; others, again, *and all the official informants*, said he was alive, and had only been wounded. Their assurances, of course, went for very little—in such circumstances especially! They would simply say what they were told to say; and it is a common custom in Japan, when a sovereign or anyone high in authority dies, to conceal his death until measures have been taken to instal his successor, and, in the meantime, the dead man is merely said to be sick. To my inquiries after his health, and offers of surgical aid from the Legation, the Ministers for many days merely returned civil messages, declining the assistance, and giving bulletins of his health informing me, truly enough — that 'he was not worse!' The real facts were not ascertained, with any guarantee of fidelity as to the main incidents, until some time later, when they became public property as it were, and the common gossip of the bath-houses — an institution of Japan, corresponding to the *café* in France. As the whole history, from the beginning to the end, is of great interest, and highly illustrative of the Japanese character and political condition, I will relate it in a more connected form than it reached me,—and with all the corrections supplied by later acquired knowledge, — not only of the tragic event itself, but of the political history to which it is attached.

Within the second moated circle facing the bay, the causeway leads over a gentle acclivity, near the summit of which, lying a little backward, is an imposing gateway, flanked on either side with a range of buildings which form the outer screens of large courtyards. Over the gates in copper enamel is the crest of the noble owner (an orange on a branch with three leaves), the Chief of the

house of *Ikomono*, in which is vested the hereditary office of Regent, whenever a minor fills the Tycoon's throne. From the commanding position of this residence a view is obtained of a long sweep of the rampart, and about midway the descent ends in a long level line of road. Just at this point, not five hundred yards distant, is one of the three bridges across the moat which leads into the inner enclosure, where the castle of the Tycoon is situated. It was about ten o'clock in the morning of March 24, while a storm of alternate sleet and rain swept over the exposed road and open space—offering little inducement to mere idlers to be abroad,—that a train was seen to emerge from the gateway of the Gotairo's residence. The appearance of the *cortége* was sufficient to tell those familiar with Japanese habits and customs, that the Regent himself was in the midst, — on his way to the palace, where his daily duties called him. Although the numbers were inconsiderable, and all the attendants were enveloped in their rain-proof cloaks of oiled paper, with great circular hats of basket or lacquer tied to their head,—yet the two standard-bearers bore aloft at the end of their spears the black tuft of feathers distinctive of a Daimio, and always marking his presence. A small company of officers and personal attendants walk in front and round the foremost norimon, while a troop of inferior office-bearers follow,—grooms with led horses, extra norimon-bearers, baggage porters — for no officer, much less a Daimio, ever leaves his house without a train of baggage,—empty or full, they are essential to his dignity. Then there are umbrella-bearers — and the servants of servants along the line. The *cortége* slowly wound its way down the hill, for the roads were wet and muddy even on this high ground; while the bearers were blinded with the drifting sleet, which was carefully excluded only from the norimons, by closed screens. Thus suspended in a sort of cage, just large enough to permit a man to sit cross-legged, the principal personage proceeded on his way to the palace. Little, it would seem, did either he or his men dream of

possible danger. How should they, indeed, on such a spot, and for so exalted a personage? No augur or soothsayer, it seems, gave warning to beware of the 'Ides of March.' And Iko-mono-no-kami, — had he no secret misgiving, — no presentiment of impending danger, such as men devoted to destruction are believed to have had on so many occasions? There is a Scottish superstition, that when the shadow of death is closing round, the mighty one is permitted to touch those he is about to grasp, so that, unconsciously to themselves, they are warned to make their peace with men before departing on their lonely road. But he left his own gateway, having but a few yards to go — the foremost man in the realm — surrounded by his own people, — nothing doubting, nothing fearing, — and before his bearers could set foot on the bridge, the vengeful steel was at his throat. Death stands there across the path, a fatal mandate in his grasp; but still the procession moves on in careless ease. The edge of the moat is gained. A still larger *cortége* of the Prince of Kiusiu, one of the royal brothers, was already on the bridge and passing through the gate on the opposite side, — while coming up from the causeway at a few paces distant, was the retinue of a second of these brothers, the Prince of Owari. The Gotairo was thus between them at the foot of the bridge, in the open space formed by the meeting of a broad street, which debouches on the bridge. A few straggling groups, enveloped in their oil-paper cloaks alone were near, when suddenly one of these seeming idlers flung himself across the line of march, immediately in front of the Regent's norimon. The officers of his household, whose place is on each side of him, rushed forward at this unprecedented interruption — a fatal move, which had evidently been anticipated, for their place was instantly filled with armed men in coats of mail who seemed to have sprung from the earth — a compact band of some eighteen or twenty men. With flashing swords and frightful yells, blows were struck at all around, the lightest of which severed men's hands from the poles

of the norimon, and cut down those who did not flee. Brief and deadly was the struggle. The unhappy officers and attendants, thus taken by surprise, were hampered with their rain gear — and many fell before they could draw a sword to defend either themselves or their lord. A few seconds must have done the work — so more than one looker-on declared; and before any thought of rescue seemed to have come to the attendants and escorts of the two other Princes, both very near — if indeed they were total strangers to what was passing — one of the band was seen to dash along the causeway with a gory trophy in his hand. Many had fallen in the *melée*, on both sides. Two of the assailants who were badly wounded, finding escape impossible, it is said, stopped in their flight, and deliberately performed the Hara-Kiru, to the edification of their pursuers — for it seems to be the law (so sacred is the rite or right, whichever may be the proper reading), that no one may be interrupted even for the ends of justice. These are held to be sufficiently secured by the self-immolation of the criminal, however heinous the offence — and it is a privilege to be denied to no one entitled to wear two swords! Other accounts say that their companions, as a last act of friendship, despatched the wounded, to prevent them falling into the hands of the torturer — and revealing what they knew. Eight of the assailants were unaccounted for when all was over; — and many of the retinue were stretched on the ground wounded and dying by the side of those who had made the murderous onslaught. The remnant of the Regent's people, released from their deadly struggle, turned to the norimon to see how it had fared with their master in the brief interval, — to find only a headless trunk! The bleeding trophy carried away was supposed to have been the head of the Gotairo himself, hacked off on the spot. But strangest of all these startling incidents, it is further related that *two* heads were found missing, and that which was seen in the fugitive's hand was only a lure to the pursuing party — while the true trophy had been secreted on the person

of another, and was thus successfully carried off, though the decoy paid the penalty of his life. After leading the chase through a first gateway down the road, and dashing past the useless guard, he was finally overtaken and slain; the end for which he had devoted himself having, however, been accomplished. Whether this be merely a popular version or the simple truth, it serves to prove what is believed to be a likely course of action; and how ready desperate men are, in Japan, to sacrifice their lives deliberately in a feud — their own, or their chief's. The officer in command of the gate who had allowed his post to be forced, was ordered the next day to perform the Hara-Kiru on the spot. All Yeddo was thrown into commotion. The ward-gates were closed: the whole machinery of the Government in spies, police, and soldiers, was put in motion, — and in a few days it was generally believed that the whole of the missing assassins were arrested, and in the hands of the torturer; although this subsequently was denied by the Ministers — and the non-apprehension of the murderers was quoted as a justification, for similar want of success in tracing the several parties engaged in the assassination of foreigners. What revelations were wrung from them, or whether they were enabled to resist the utmost strain that could be put on quivering flesh and nerve, remains shrouded in mystery. The officers of the Government intimated at the Legation that they had revealed all, confessing they were in the service of the Prince of Mito — but the popular version, as shown in an ingenious rebus, was more heroic. The Chinese characters representing the *Gorogio* (Council of Ministers) was circulated, omitting certain portions — which taken separately signify a mouth — and the whole was made to signify that the answers and heroism of the tortured men — had closed the mouths of the Council.

Thus, in broad daylight, within sight of his own house, and close to the Tycoon's residence, the next highest personage in the realm, by office, — was slain by a small band of determined men, retainers of a member of the reigning

House, who had thus devoted themselves with a kind of chivalry — and certainly with no ordinary courage, to avenge the wrongs of their Chief. The Prince himself, subsequently, with such followers as he could get together, was reported to have escaped from surveillance, — and, raising the standard of revolt within his own territories, which had been transferred to his son, to have seized a castle in a commanding position. This was held by one of the Tycoon's high officers, whom the Prince beheaded without scruple, and then bid defiance to all enemies and the ruling power! Whether this was the commencement of a civil war, or merely the outbreak of a faction-feud between the chiefs of two rival houses, which would end in the destruction of one or both, seemed for some time doubtful. The danger of any general conflict, however, whatever it may have been, appeared to have passed away in the course of the succeeding months.

It is difficult to determine whether the boldness of the attack, its ruthlessness, or its prompt and sure success, under such circumstances, were most remarkable. They can hardly be regarded as common assassins, for it was an act of self-devotion on their part. They had nothing to gain, and no personal quarrel to avenge. Death on the spot, or a more tardy end, after going through the extremity of torture, was sure — and escape all but an impossibility for any. It carries the mind back to the feudal times of Europe, when the streets and thoroughfares of every capital were scenes of daily bloodshed and murder; when Guelfs and Ghibelines fought and slew each other whenever they met, or an ambuscade could rid them of an enemy.

Certainly this picture is very unlike any we have heretofore been presented with, either by painstaking Kœmpfer and Thunberg in past generations, or hasty visitors since. Those writers who, on the strength of a superficial observation or a flying visit to Nagasaki, have led the credulous public in Europe and America to believe that the triumph of European civilisation in Japan is already secure; and

that the Japanese government is promoting it,—must have been strangely deluded! As to progress and advance in the path of civilisation, the papers laid before Parliament at this period, in which I passed in review the progress made in the previous six months, — the first after the opening of the ports under treaties in July last, — must have given a very different impression. The Foreign Representatives in the capital found so little disposition on the part of the ruling powers to give a liberal interpretation to the treaties, that ever since their arrival at Yeddo, they had been chiefly occupied, as the reader will have seen, in resisting, and protesting against continual and systematic violations of all the more essential provisions of treaties. As to the alleged 'eagerness of the Japanese to learn,'— before schools could benefit them there must be permission for them to attend. Every European lives to this day in a sort of moral quarantine—at the capital more especially; and no Japanese above the rank of a servant or a coolie, who is not officially employed about them by the Government, may hold any communication with them. The American Minister was even told so, when expressing a desire to see some officer of rank, whom he had known when the latter had been in office before. At Kanagawa, some American missionaries having arrived with their families, and desiring to engage one or two female servants, were told without any circumlocution by the officials, that they must send to a huge brothel, erected at the neighbouring settlement of Yokohama, and pay an exorbitant rate, one half of which goes to the Government — it being the law of Japan that none but this class of females shall serve foreigners! This was not liberal — or very agreeable — neither was it according to treaty. As to the railways and steam communication (which about this time I saw it asserted in some of the public journals were contemplated) one fact is worth a page of suppositions. A very few months after ports were opened under treaty, a fairly liberal offer was made by the agent of a fine steamer to keep up a monthly communication between Yeddo,

Nagasaki, and Shanghae, carrying freight, treasure, and despatches, if required for the Government, for the supply of 300 tons of Japanese coal each voyage; — and it was refused, without apparently a second thought as to the advantages of such regular and rapid communication, either between their own ports or with those of China. Indeed to them,—with their policy and views of political economy, — it would obviously be considered anything but an advantage.

The murder of Ikomono-no-kami threw a shadow over the capital,— a shadow of doubt, and uneasy anticipation of farther troubles. All the wards of the city were kept closed for two days, and for some considerable time afterwards were carefully guarded at night. Ostensibly the object was to prevent the escape of the survivors of the band; but in reality, I believe, they were precautionary measures against any farther attack upon the members of the Tycoon's government by bodies of armed men. The Legations were filled with troops, contingents of certain Daimios held bound to supply them by feudal tenure, — to which were added for our greater security some of the Tycoon's bodyguard. It was apparently thought the Foreign Legations might be the next object of attack — not so much from hostility to *them*, as with a view of involving the existing Government, and bringing on a conflict with Foreign Powers. The position both of the Government and the Foreign Representatives seemed very critical; and no one in the Legations could form any very certain estimate of the real amount of danger to both; for the Japanese Council of State, true to their habitual policy, declined furnishing any data upon which a judgement could be formed. They contented themselves with measures of precaution and defence. Field-pieces were placed in the courtyards of the several Legations, and the Ministers were urgently requested to abstain for a time from going outside! As past experience had shown any pretext was good, with a view to the limitation and curtailment of the privileges of the Legations — even

the very harmless one of riding through the city, or into the surrounding country for exercise, as was my daily habit—this alone tended to throw some doubt over the whole of their proceedings, and left all the foreign diplomatic agents in a very unpleasant state of suspense and uncertainty. As far as the British Legation was concerned, I felt bound to refuse constituting myself a sort of State prisoner within the gates of my own residence,—and I took my rides as usual, accompanied, at the earnest entreaty of the Japanese Ministers, by a few mounted yaconins,—a very useless appendage, if any real danger was to be apprehended,—as I had very soon occasion to remark, and distinctly told the Ministers—giving my grounds for arriving at the conclusion.

Some very curious details respecting the conspirators who had leagued together to slay the Regent, and their subsequent acts, reached me long after this period; and as they are highly illustrative of the customs and traditions of the Japanese, and tend to throw some new light on their present political condition,—I cannot do better than close this chapter with their recital.

Of the assassination of the Tycoon on the throne, when Commodore Perry's expedition first arrived in the Bay of Yeddo in 1853, some account has already been given in a preceding chapter; and so far back this tragic history may be easily traced by very tangible links of connection. When his son *Menamotto Yesada* was gathered to *his* fathers, after the signature of the second American treaty negotiated by Mr. Harris in 1858—with or 'without the aid of medicine,' according to the odd phraseology of the Japanese in similar cases (though there is a popular conviction that he *had* the aid of medicine, of the most effective kind), and a minor of the royal house of Kiusiu was elected to fill the vacant place, Ikomono-no-kami became Regent by hereditary right. And, it may fairly be presumed, he had not been without influence in an election by the great Council of Daimios, which, while it excluded the house of Mito—father and son both of

mature age — virtually placed the executive power of the realm in his hands. But the reader knows this was not the only grievance, real or fancied, of the Prince of Mito — then an old man of sixty — against the Regent. He was accused by the latter of the murder of the last Tycoon, Mina Motto Yesado, by poison; and on the strength of it had him banished to his territories, as a temporary measure, under promise of speedy release. So far from this, one of the first acts of the Council, under the regency of Ikomono-no-kami, was to depose him from his principality in favour of his son, and to pass a sentence of perpetual banishment from the capital. Hence the plot of Mito's followers to avenge their Prince for this double act of treachery — and, if there be any truth in the popular version, more devoted or determined adherents no prince in the feudal ages of Europe could ever boast. The head of the Regent is said to have been got safely out of Yeddo, and presented to the Prince their master, who spat upon it with maledictions, as the head of his greatest enemy. It was then carried to *Miaco*, the capital of the Mikado, and there exposed at a place of execution in that city especially destined for princes condemned to be executed —'*Sidio onagawara*' it is called, and over it was placed a placard 'This is the head of a traitor who has violated the most sacred laws of Japan— those which forbid the admission of foreigners into the country.' After two hours of exposure, the same intrepid followers are said to have brought it away; and in the night to have cast it over the wall into the court of Ikomono's palace at Yeddo, from whence he had sallied out in pride and power on the morning of his death.

A strange history — strange if true, and scarcely less so if invented. Not less but more illustrative, perhaps, in the latter case, of the popular idea of heroism and poetic justice, as these are, moreover, exemplified in a hundred legends and traditions, which form the staple of their theatrical pieces, their picture-books, and their popular tales. One of the most celebrated of these, is a story of a small Daimio,

who, having a feud in past times with one of the Tycoon's Council of State, determined to avenge himself by slaying his enemy when he met him in the palace. He made the attempt and failed, inflicting only a slight wound, — some of the attendants having seized him from behind as he was aiming his blow. Foiled in his object, he returned to his house; and having collected his officers and retainers about him, and made his preparations for the ceremony of disembowelling himself, he deliberately performed the operation in their presence; and then, handing the short sword covered with his blood to his secretary, he laid his dying injunctions upon him, as his liege lord, with that very weapon to take the life of his enemy. The latter, being freed from his antagonist, seized upon the house and property of the deceased Daimio, and turned out all his faithful servitors. These, to the number of forty-seven, became *Lonins*, under the command of the secretary — all bound together by an oath to accomplish the destruction of their master's enemy! Accordingly, choosing their time, they stormed his castle during the night, when they knew he was inside, and entered into a terrible conflict with all his retainers, to the number of some three hundred; and such was their valour and heroism that they finally vanquished them, and immediately proceeded to search for their chief victim. He was concealed in a secret recess, between two rooms, with one of his friends; but they had obtained information of the existence of such a hiding-place, and one of them thrust a spear through the partition. The blade wounded the Daimio, but not in a vital part; and as it was drawn out he took care to wipe it with his sleeve, so that on examining it and seeing no mark of blood, — they came to the conclusion that no one was there, and that he had escaped their vengeance. Nothing then remained but an act of self-immolation; and stripping off their armour and dress, they were just in the act of performing the Hara-Kiru, when a stifled cough reached their ears from the very hiding-place they had pierced in a vain search.

Satisfied now that their enemy was still in their grasp, they sprung to their feet — tore down the walls, and dragged him and his friend out; when the secretary, with the very sword received from his dying chief, struck off both their heads. Their vengeance thus satisfied, and not a living being remaining to be slain, they then performed the disembowelling with the greatest heroism and complacency. They were all buried in one cemetery in Yeddo, which was pointed out to me, and they live to this day in the hearts of all brave and loyal men in Japan as types of true heroism! As this story was recited to me, I could not help reflecting on what must be the influence of such a popular literature and history upon the character, as well as the habits of thought and action of a nation. When children listen to such fragments of their history or popular tales; and, as they grow up, hear their elders praise the valour and heroism of such servitors; and see them go at stated periods to pay honour to their graves centuries after the deed—and such is the fact—it is quite obvious this general talk and unhesitating approval of what with us, perhaps, would be considered great crimes — may have very subtle and curious bearings on the general character and moral training of the people. What its exact influence may be we cannot determine, perhaps; but that it is deep and all-pervading, affecting their general estimate of all deeds of like character,—whether it be the slaying of a Regent or the massacre of a Foreign Legation, — is very certain, and presents a state of things well worthy of serious consideration.

CHAPTER XVIII.

STRAY LEAVES FROM A JOURNAL — THOUGHTS DISCURSIVE AND RETROSPECTIVE ON JAPANESE RELATIONS — SPECULATIONS ON THE FUTURE — TRADE RETURNS AND GENERAL RESULTS — RETROSPECT OF THE FIRST TWELVE MONTHS AFTER THE OPENING OF THE PORTS BY TREATY — THE GAIN AND THE LOSS SUMMED UP.

THE succeeding three months, from April to June, in this year, offered little that was either striking or novel to record. Newspaper writers in search of 'sensation articles,' had there been any such in Japan, would have been in sad dearth of materials. The usual number of earthquakes and fires only, and not a single case of slaughter or assassination! A year had now passed and gone, since H.M.S. 'Sampson' steamed up the Bay of Yeddo, freighted with our Diplomatic and Consular establishments in Japan. What had been the progress made—the gain and the loss on the first twelve months of effort, diplomatic and commercial?

The first anniversary of the day of arrival—not likely to be forgotten in such isolation—found me in the temple where I had first taken up my residence pending the selection of a permanent site for building, and the erection of a Legation. It was near the end of June, in 1860; and, as I sat musing over the past and the future, my thoughts dwelt long and anxiously on our prospects in Japan;—and the course which foreign relations seemed likely to take. The future of Japan itself, and its contented, industrious, and teeming population, entered largely into my speculations.

It was a wild night. The great trees, which form a noble screen of evergreens on the garden side of the

temple, and serve to shut out the rays of the western sun as it descends, were swaying to and fro like the masts of a storm-tossed ship at sea;—while the wind came rushing through their branches in gusts that shook the building itself. When these intermitted, the loud plashing of the rain, as it fell in torrents from the eaves, and beat against the casements, in spite of a projecting verandah, made a dismal sort of accompaniment. It was the wind-up of the wet season, which, with frequent breaks, had lasted two months. 'Two months!' I mentally exclaimed, as the thought crossed me; and I turned mechanically to a book labelled—with questionable accuracy, so far as any use I made of it was concerned—'Diary,' to satisfy myself that my imagination had not made a shorter period fill that space. I found it was nearly that time since any entry had been made—of date, thought, or fact. Time, which seemed to 'drag its slow length along' so wearily day by day, had nevertheless, with an even and stealthy pace, glided on almost imperceptibly—filching dear life away by inches. Dear life! what could make it so, in such an exile as this—in total isolation, under sentence of banishment without any definite term,—utter banishment from all that enters into and constitutes *existence* in a civilised country? The ringing laugh of merry childhood—the soft voice and familiar tones of woman—the interchange of ideas and intellectual intercourse, continually fed by new materials for thought—all were wanting, as absolutely as though an evil destiny had cast me in a clearing in the backwoods of Canada or Texas! Shut up in this great heathen city—a very wilderness of men and women, as I have already styled it, semi-civilised Asiatics of a strange type—with two or three juniors and fellow victims only for companions, what could be more dispiriting or more *fossilising*? A very few months suffice to enable half-a-dozen people, even with well-stocked brains, to travel over each other's minds; and to do it so often in every sense, as Johnson once feelingly complained when restricted for a few weeks

only to such a narrow range and spare diet, that nothing new remains to be discovered—nothing from 'Dan to Beersheba.' The monotony of

> —— a twice-told tale,
> Vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man,

is liveliness itself, to a tale or a remark heard twenty times over—the same, or another so like, that the impression is identical.

Men in active life,—after time has scattered grey hairs on their track,—may write of their thoughts, if they have any, but seldom journalise their feelings; unless they have a great deal of spare time on their hands and little to occupy their minds. Yet, if anything in the outward conditions of an existence could drive the tide backward to the heart, and keep thought fast chained in a work of introspection, it would surely be such a life as I now led in the capital of the Tycoon! In the endeavour to escape from the too painful consciousness of the subjective '*me*' with a present so full of weariness, and a future so void of hope,—I took up 'Eöthen,' to try and lose, in the freshness and quiet humour of its author, all that was so stale, flat, and unprofitable about myself. Even in describing scenes, which we have either travelled over in person or vicariously in the thousand and one writers of 'narratives' and 'diaries'—from Lady Wortley Montagu or 'Anastasius' Hope, to Warburton and Miss Martineau—learned in the Pharaohs—how pleasantly still he beguiles you! How grateful we feel for his consideration in sparing us all scraps of other people's learning or dullness—dissertations on antiquities only interesting on the spot; and columns of statistics which nobody can check, or would care to take the trouble of scrutinising if they could—contenting himself and his reader, with slight allusions and incidental references only. But, after a short time, even this resource failed on the present occasion. The wind continued its weird incantations among the branches

of the trees; and, in a feeling of desperation, drawing the neglected diary to me, I sat down and wrote, far into the night,—as the only way of laying the ghosts of things Japanese, past, present, and future, which *would* not be chased away by any less potent spell.

As I turned over the pages not long ago, seeking,—or rather taking a mental inventory of the materials which had been insensibly accumulating ever since my arrival in the country,—I came upon this night's work, long cast aside and forgotten. I found, in glancing over them, that they supplied a better and more vivid picture of my Japanese life at this period, in all its most characteristic features, than I could attempt to reproduce. And, as one object in this narrative of my residence in Japan, is to give such glimpses of the people and their rulers among whom my lot was cast, as flitted before my eyes, like dissolving views,—day after day; and so afford to those who have never been in the country a faithful report of my own impressions, photographed at the moment, under an eastern sky,—I cannot do better than give the fragment as it was written, while the mind was in the sensitive state which best fits it to receive and perpetuate a sharp and well-defined image of the objects brought within its field. If it answers no other or better purpose, it will at least supply the Retrospect it was my desire to give at this stage;—and afford a sort of halting-place, from whence we may look back upon the country travelled over, and take a glance at the road which lies stretched before us, to a yet distant horizon. If somewhat meditative and discursive, local colouring and fidelity of detail may make up for a certain diffusiveness, and give to a slight sketch from nature a merit often wanting in a more studied picture. With this apology I venture to transfer, without material change or emendation, the following

STRAY LEAVES FROM A JOURNAL.

'A wide gap there would be to fill up if this were really intended to be a daily journal or record, which it

is not, and never will be. There is so much in life, in all we say and do and feel, to say nothing of all we think, which would be tedious if written down—often tedious and wearisome enough in the acting, but doubly so in the recording, and useless withal! It is related of a once celebrated physician—Dr. Fordyce, I think—that he was remarkable, among other things, for an astonishing memory for details; and the fidelity and minuteness with which he could recall, after the lapse of any number of years, the occurrences of any given day of his life, even in the most trivial things. And it is said he owed this entirely to a discipline he voluntarily imposed upon himself in youth,—never to go to bed until he had recapitulated to himself every word and incident of the day,—beginning with the order in which he pulled his stockings on, and so throughout the day to the end, not forgetting the dishes on the table at dinner! I remember being struck, when I heard it, young as I then was, with the feeling—that not even the memory or the gift of a Mezzofanti would be worth purchasing at such a price as the intolerable penance of living all one's life twice over,—in its trivialities and its boredom, as well as its pleasant scenes! But, if I thought so then, when life had much of novelty in store, and freshness too; what would be my feelings if any malevolent spirit were to threaten me with such a burden *now—here in Yeddo*! A thousand things must be said and done every day—needful for the time, doubtless; but, having once served their generation, like the patriarchs of old, and passed away,—it would be a vile proceeding to call them from their graves and make them walk this earth again. Doubtless many incidents and occurrences are daily taking place among us which seem trivial at the time; though their influence upon ourselves, and upon many others, may extend through all time. Indeed, in one sense, nothing that happens is without an influence,—or wholly trivial and unimportant. Nevertheless, even writers of diaries (with the exception of a Pepys, who is amusing and instructive because all the

trivial and minute incidents of his daily life, and that of his compeers, like flies in amber, are so perfectly preserved for a future generation), must of necessity exercise some discrimination in what they record or omit. I wonder whether anyone ever reads their own journals? I remember once trying myself, and finding it impossible; and so I threw the musty volumes into the fire, and have never been guilty of a "diary" since. After all, how impossible it is to tell by anticipation which of the many thousand incidents or occurrences of a life will prove the significant events or turning points of a destiny, or even the headings for a *chapter* of Life. It is told of Louis Seize, when the concealed recesses of the Tuileries gave up his private journal to the irreverent hands of the mob, that one entry was found often repeated during the most critical period immediately preceding the Revolution—"Rien, rien, rien!" Time, which was hurrying nations to their fate, and him to the scaffold—advancing with giant strides indeed—seemed to the unfortunate monarch only a blank, and its progress equally void of interest or significance! We exclaim, "How strange! how unaccountable!" yet the same thing happens to most of us, only the scene of action is less historic. We meet a certain stranger one day—make his acquaintance, and think no more about it, until, in after years, we perceive that a whole chain of events began at that first link, influencing, it may be, the whole future course of life. Or, you slip your foot as you are springing out of a vehicle, and are laid up for a week, instead of taking the train—which never reached its destination, and was shattered in pieces. You owed your life, under Providence, to that awkward but most fortunate slip! The faculty of discerning the true significance and importance of passing events, especially of the more seemingly trivial or fortuitous kind, would imply a gift of divination, which might not always be a blessing, though we are apt to desire it above all things. I think it is Emerson says—"The present always seems trivial in our eyes, but the present is a king in disguise." We

succeed better in retrospect; and the "wisdom of after events" is often the only true wisdom we ever attain, though we all aim at *prevision* and the seer's gift. Our contemplation of the past, however, loses much of its interest and utility too, if we cease to look forward into the future. No one cares either for the past—or even for the present (beyond the avoidance of actual pain or weariness), unless the future holds some prize—something to *desire* and to *hope*, as well as to *strive for*! If anyone still actively employed, could feel what the French poet, Henry Murgher, says so emphatically for himself, in one of his Bohemian pieces,

> —— la vie
> Pour moi n'a plus d'avenir,

I would not give much for his present existence. But the history of a life, or two lives, might sometimes be summed up, like the poet's, in one fatal phrase —

> —— of all sad words of tongue or pen,
> The saddest still are these —*It might have been*!

An irrevocable past and a hopeless future, are both implied. I don't know what has betrayed me into this vein of moralising: I believe I am getting weary of the never-ending grind of the wheels of life, and the unbroken monotony of such an existence,—weary, in spite of all my philosophy,—its constant dangers and startling incidents. One carries a life in one's hand until at last it becomes an intolerable burden, and we are ready to throw it away. The same ever-recurring *tracasseries* and anxieties, with the equally unfailing consciousness of inability to secure any really satisfactory results, harass and tire me! Not all the 'peace,' but

> —— all the misery which springs
> From the large aggregate of little things,

should be the reading here. Foreign merchants and Japanese officials often vying with each other in efforts to tear the treaties into shreds, or, like clown and harlequin, leaping one after the other through all its paper clauses,

—wholly regardless of the damage done to more permanent interests than those of the hour, and more important objects than those of the few individuals on the spot! Consuls of many nations sometimes joining in this play at cross purposes with each other—some from design and others from want of judgement. And so the weary wheel goes round; always demanding action, nerve, and effort, but never advancing or making any perceptible progress towards a finite end. It is recorded of Johnson that he propounded the question one day, "Who was the most to be envied, he who had everything to hope and nothing to fear, or the man in whom these conditions were reversed by his having *everything to fear and nothing to hope?*" The latter would very well apply to a diplomatic agent in Japan, although Johnson designed it to describe the rich man as compared with the poor, who has nothing to lose and consequently little to fear.

'Of daily work and events there seems to be little worth recording, and yet each day brings its task, and generally its struggle with the adverse influences about us. Political events do not, so far as we can see, move very fast here. The *status quo* remains, despite many mutterings and subterranean heavings of this volcanic soil beneath our feet—so truly emblematic or typical of the moral atmosphere above. Changes seem impending, and yet they do not come,—or come but slowly and partially. We are in a very unfavourable position for correct judgement however. The keenest observer of the times, among foreigners domiciled in Japan, is in danger of writing 'Rien—rien,' on the eve of a revolution or a convulsion that would involve all in a common ruin. On the other hand he is taught caution by the fear of falling into the opposite extreme; and drawing alarming inferences from what may, after all, be only volcanic throes that will end in nothing. The Prince of Mito is said to have tendered his submission. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs with whom I had a long interview lately, were, as usual, vague and mysterious, not wholly denying the existence of

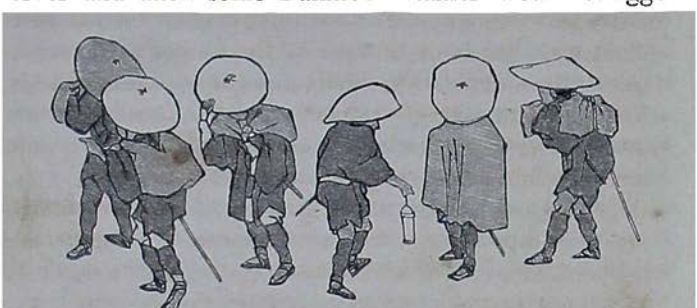
disturbances, but carefully avoiding any details. It lasted (as usual, also) more than four hours, but was, upon the whole, more than usually amicable in its tone—so much so indeed, that on taking leave, and expressing my regret to have been compelled to detain them so long, they replied with more "*effusion*" than is their habit, "we do not care about its length, but that which is agreeable to us, is the friendly and satisfactory mode in which all matters have been discussed."

'The whole life of a Diplomatic Agent here is one uninterrupted struggle against unceasing efforts to make *the treaties null and void in effect.* Progress *has* been made, however. I see, on looking back, certain landmarks plainly visible. If the untiring wave of encroachment has gained upon us at some points, strong breakwaters at others stand high and dry above all the spray and turmoil of the vexed elements. The establishment of our trade and diplomatic relations in the country may be compared to the launch of the "Great Eastern." So far from the water's edge, and so firmly fixed in the unyielding clay, all the appliances of European science and power seem to be invoked in vain. Now a few inches or feet are gained when the strain proves too much for the gear, and back she slips, more firmly imbedded apparently than ever! But new pressure is brought to bear, and again the leviathan plainly moves, and this time what is gained is held. And thus the struggle is continued against inert bulk and passive resistance. It is only by measuring the distance at intervals, however, that we can be satisfied any progress is actually made. At last she is swung into the tide and floats; but *will she sail and carry merchandise?* Ah! that still remains a knotty question—a problem hard of solution with us, as it was once with the shareholders of the "Great Eastern;" but we work on in the meanwhile, toiling and hoping still.

'Not long ago I had another interview with Ando Tsusimano-kami, the second of the two Ministers for Foreign Affairs. I had, to begin with, a case of murderous

onslaught made by a drunken yaconin on an English merchant at Hakodadi,—not over discreet, perhaps, in risking a collision,—though clearly the Japanese was the aggressor, and apparently out of pure wantonness and malice. Then I had to meet, on their side, a complaint made by Government officers of rudeness said to have been offered them by a Consul at the same port,—in which I should have liked to have felt more certain there was no foundation! We had next, as I told him, to take ship for Nagasaki, and discuss the tenure of land in the foreign location there — to insist upon our right to build on the hill-side,—and not to be penned up like cattle in a swamp below—a Decima without its advantages—to contend for a cemetery to bury our dead, and the ground for a dock in which to repair our ships. Thence back to Kanagawa, and settle a squabble about itziboos between the Governor of that place and H.M.'s Consul, who had been accused by the former of giving a false return—a trifle they did not think it necessary to lose time in substantiating by evidence; and His Excellency was surprised I took it seriously, and insisted on the charge being either substantiated, or withdrawn with an apology. Then to Yeddo to protest against the insult offered by shutting the gates of the Imperial cemetery, open to all the population of Yeddo,—in the face of some of the Legation, with every mark of premeditated rudeness — on which it was necessary to say many hard things;— as upon their whole policy of surrounding the Foreign Representatives with meddling spies and subaltern police, who keep us in an odious quarantine, and prevent all free access. This is yet a drawn battle, which has been going on ever since we arrived; and where, so far, we have rather lost than gained ground! And so, heartily weary, no doubt, of each other, we withdrew our respective forces about sunset, and I tried to recover my equanimity on a favourite hack, who evidently thought these five-hour conferences quite as tiresome as his master, and went off at a pace which left the attendant yaconins small time to settle themselves on the top of their outlandish saddles, on

which they perch like apes, and with quite as little grip on their horses. I sometimes think, as they pass me, what an example a troop of dragoons would make of a few thousand of them,—if ever they had a chance and got in among them. As I passed along the four miles of ramparts and streets which lie between the minister's house adjoining the Tycoon's palace and Tozengee, I guided my horse with checked speed through the swarms of children and Yeddites of maturer years, equally *sans culottes* in the literal sense. Night was closing in; my escort in advance had lanterns attached to their belts by a bamboo, and at short intervals the lights from the bath-houses showed the usual scene of two or three dozen figures laughing, splashing and talking. Ever and anon some Daimio's retainer would swagger



HOMEWARD BOUND

past with a truculent gest of scorn and defiance; while more peaceable wayfarers were gaining their homes. I fell insensibly into a train of thought on the destiny which had left me stranded on this far-off shore, and moralising on the sort of people among whom my lot had been cast. The description the authoress of the "Mill on the Floss" gives of that degraded species of existence — the ant-hill life of the Dodsons and Tullivers in the Yorkshire dells, as in other parts of our *soi-disant* Christian land, *mutato nomine*, would admirably answer for the Japanese; —the Dodsons have their national countertype here.

'This "emmet life," described as essentially a sordid, sensual life, "irradiated by no sublime principles, no romantic visions, no active self-renouncing faith—a life so sordid that even sorrow hardly suffices to lift it above the level of the tragi-comic." So says the writer of the clever critique in the "Times" which I have just been reading. I could not help being struck with its perfect applicability to the Japanese. Here I see it, in the reality, in still more vivid colours than even the authoress has limned her characters, "in all its nakedness, hideousness, and littleness,"—this life of respectable brutishness, which so many persons lead even in Europe, "illumined by not one ray of spiritual influence, by no suspicion of a higher life, of another world, of a surrounding divinity." Thus live and die these thirty millions of human beings, from one generation to another. Yet they do not seem to become *more* brutish, *more* degraded, *more* immoral. What they are now, they seem to have been, without change, centuries ago; perhaps neither much better nor worse, than millions in other lands claiming to be both civilised and Christians!

'In this lies a great mystery. Not that a pagan and long-isolated people should lead a more or less pagan and brutalised life of material existence;—but that they should not, by well-marked degrees of sharp descent, deteriorate and become *entirely* brutish. Such is certainly not the fact. On the contrary, they are a well-to-do, flourishing, and advancing people: and for generations and centuries have maintained a respectable level of intellectual cultivation and social virtues. It is natural that I should speculate on this problem and the past of the Japanese, for I am convinced a key to all progress in the future can only be made after careful examination of all the wards of the lock by which we are kept out—until, in a word, we can satisfactorily account for all the phenomena of national existence and progress under such conditions.

'The Japanese seem thoroughly imbued with the principle often so eloquently enforced by our own Con-

servative press, that no old laws should be abrogated or adjusted until a clear case of necessity is made out — and even then with fear and trembling, remembering that it is more easy to discover the mischief which an existing law does, than the mischief which it prevents. Perhaps have they some dim consciousness even, that in the application of a theory, especially in so complicated a subject as political economy,—the most sagacious may overlook some item which may be fatal to the success of the measure, however well meant. That the Japanese rulers should be nervous and distrustful, more particularly of the applications which Foreign Powers urge—feeling no great certainty of the disinterestedness or honesty of their advisers; and no faith in the truth of a political economy which is not their own, and in total discord with the principles hitherto regarded by them as the only true guides to a nation's welfare and prosperity—is not only what might be anticipated as natural, but is obviously inevitable. Perhaps also they have been warned by their own experience, of a fact by no means unknown to statesmen in Europe, that it is "scarcely possible to make too much allowance for friction in the actual business of life." And were they better read in history, they might quote from our own, that a grave authority and one of our own Daimios whose head was brought to the block by fierce innovators,—although it was said to be the wisest head that stood on any pair of shoulders in England,*—declared, "how advised we ought to be of any innovation, considering that inconveniences are rather found by experience, than foreseen by judgement." *Stare super antiquas vias* is held to be a good maxim, in more enlightened countries than Japan! And in truth we are apt to be impatient, and too ready perhaps — seeing with other eyes than theirs, where the true interests of both countries lie, and all that is obstructive and retrograde in their policy—to exclaim against their arguments for inaction. But thirty years ago, in England,

* Lord Strafford.

very similar reasoning was daily produced by leading statesmen in Lords and Commons against the repeal of the Corn laws — the same reasoning is commonly resorted to through Europe generally at this day; and are we so sure that opposition to free trade, and to innovation in legislation, have no supporters among our own Daimios still? Are there no "stupid prejudices," no "antiquated notions," or "ecclesiastical bigotry," the legacies of former generations, yet to be done battle with in England, or her offspring, free and enlightened America?— England, the great proselytizer of nations, and foremost among the champions of free trade! What if the Japanese Mission, when about to sail for England, had received instructions to propose, not free trade—that we have at length made up our minds to accept as the best for our own interests as a whole nation, however hard it may press upon fractional portions as producers — but the reduction, say, of our exorbitant duty of 200 per cent. upon tea (one of the great staples of Japan), or, with a supposed leaning to the introduction of the Sintoo religion and system of endowment,—they should propose to us to throw open the doors of our universities and churches to all comers, and alter the whole system and curriculum of education;—or a modification of our representative institutions and system of government as "essential to greater harmony and cordiality, in the relations between the two countries — the existing order of things being a grave impediment, preventing our ever taking a just view of the policy of an Eastern kingdom like Japan?" They would probably meet with some opposition in the country, if not active hostility. Their pretensions to make innovations would not escape sharp discussion and censure in Lords and Commons; Exeter Hall might not speak altogether mildly on the subject,—I should not be surprised if, at the first grand meeting to consider the "interests of religion and order," their immediate and ignominious expulsion from the kingdom might not be voted unanimously! As for the Government, it might either pooh-pooh the whole thing or treat it

with scorn;—but in either case means would be found, in perfectly diplomatic language, I have no doubt, of telling them,—that the Japanese Government had better mind their own business, and leave us to deal with England and its affairs—as we knew best.

'From all these considerations, bearing upon the history of the past and the present, there is a moral to be drawn, I think. "A narrow-necked bottle," says Quintilian somewhere, "must be humoured; pour gently or *you spill instead of fill.*" So I must find yet more patience, to continue the work; and try "to fill instead of spill."

'But, despite all obstacles and difficulties, as I have noted, some progress has really been made. My letters from England might encourage me. "We are surprised so much has been done in the time; the merchants are well satisfied with the results and full of hope. You who are on the spot and occupied in clearing away the rubbish do not see it, but we who are looking on from the distance perceive your progress, and are content." And so I suppose *I* must learn to be, if I am to remain another year at the same work — and I see no prospect of relief. Certainly the year, just ended, since the opening of the ports and the exchange of ratifications, has been an eventful one for Japan,—and a very weary one for "H.M.'s Representative at the Court of the Tycoon." Let us pass it in review, count the gain and the loss; these may both be summed up now, and a balance struck.

'As to what has been actually achieved in the way of Commerce during the first year after the opening of the ports;—it has been clearly established that Japan can furnish both TEA and SILK, of such quality and price as will bring both into the home market advantageously, in competition with those of China. Some 15,000 chests of tea, and not less than 3,000 bales of silk, exported during the twelve months, proved, by the prices obtained in the home markets, and the profits realised, that they could enter into such competition. Some of the finer silk realised four shillings a pound more than the best produce of China.'

[I may here remark that at first it was supposed we had probably absorbed the whole surplus in the country, and that the amount exported showed, therefore, all that was immediately producible for foreign trade. But even at the time there was a promise, amply realised in the following year, of a large increase — the limits of which have not yet been ascertained. The 3,000 bales swelled to 18,000.]

'In the streets of Yeddo, hundreds of tea-chests are being manufactured in preparation for exports; and of this staple of a foreign trade, there is every reason to believe the quantity hitherto exported might be increased to an indefinite extent, without even additional planting. The Japanese themselves say that, having no demand except for home consumption, all the leaves had never been plucked; — nor, in regard to silk, all the cocoons reeled. Many other articles in demand for the foreign markets, exclusive of the large supplies for the Chinese, have been discovered, calculated to yield a large profit, and constituting of themselves a considerable trade. Vegetable Wax and Oils, Mother-of-pearl shells, Camphor, Gall-nuts, &c. Flour has been largely in demand for China. The mineral wealth of Japan we knew before was great, but little progress in this direction has been made. The Japanese government continue to manifest the greatest jealousy of our demands; and an insuperable repugnance to the produce of any of their mines being exported. Coal, of which they are perhaps the least careful, requires better working to be very available for steamers; probably they possess much better than any they have allowed to find its way to the open ports.* Of imports, at this time, little can be said that is encouraging. The stoppage of all exchange of itziboos at this period is looked upon by the merchants as a great evil.†

* Some information I obtained during a journey in the interior the following year, confirmed me in this conclusion.

† It proved, nevertheless, to be the means by which the first impulse was given to an import trade; and it has gone on largely increasing since. Nor was there much unanimity of opinion on this subject among the merchants

The whole trade in this year, after the opening of the ports, has exceeded a million sterling, from which, I have reason to believe, very large profits have been realised, and comparatively by a small number of merchants — English, Dutch, and American, chiefly — the former well maintaining their traditional predominance, here as elsewhere in the East.

'In other respects much has been gained, if much still remain to be achieved. As regards our Political and Diplomatic relations—only important in these remote regions from their bearing on our Commercial interests, here and in the Eastern seas generally—and the actual position of the Foreign Representatives at Yeddo, there is, indeed, much to be accomplished yet. Life and property both have been, through the whole period, very insecure. Incendiarism, unchecked by punishment, has been frequent and disastrous at Nagasaki. Neither redress nor compensation could be obtained, and but small security for the future. Life has been repeatedly taken at Yokohama and at Yeddo, with perfect impunity. Six individuals have been murdered successively, by ones and twos, with circumstances of great barbarity, and to all appearance without any provocation. According to common report among the Japanese—they were political murders, deliberately planned and executed for political purposes—in all perhaps save that of my linguist, who had something like a personal feud with the most dangerous class in Japan—the Daimios' retainers; though he was undoubtedly obnoxious to the Government, too, as one capable of furnishing me with information not otherwise attainable by a foreigner. As for the Foreign Representatives themselves, besides being exposed to similar danger, with like objects in the assailants, the members of the several Legations are all (in thorough accordance with the policy of the preceding three centuries) put in moral quarantine, and a cordon follows them wherever they go—per-

themselves. See Report of a Public Meeting at Yokohama for farther information, Appendix A.

mitting no respectable Japanese or native of the educated and higher classes to approach them! In vain the respective Ministers have protested — and some, at least, persistently and energetically have fought against the system; but the Japanese government have such infinite resources and means at their disposal for giving effect to any policy of this nature, that we are always at a great disadvantage; — and, it must be confessed, have been hitherto, as was to be expected, signally worsted in nearly every struggle to break through the toils of the hunter.

'This systematic and persistent policy of isolation and restriction in regard to all foreigners in the country — the Merchants at the ports, and the Ministers in the capital, and against all nations impartially and unchangeably — together with a certain insecurity to life and denial of justice when either life or property may have been sacrificed — are among the greatest difficulties still to be encountered. And judging by the amount and successful nature of the resistance offered; and the failure of all the efforts of the Foreign Legations, separately and collectively, to effect any sensible change or amelioration; it is evident they are difficulties which will endure, and, for a long time to come, be the hardest to grapple with successfully. Yet there is nothing in the first twelve months' experience more strongly impressed upon my mind than the conviction that, until *we do succeed in this*, no permanent or sure progress can well be made. While we are isolated by a cordon of Japanese officials from the whole population, and debarred all free intercourse both with the mass and the higher classes, — our relations must of necessity rest on a basis as insecure as it is unsatisfactory. We are, and always shall be, at the mercy of the Government of the day, — and may be massacred at any moment, at a given hour, the turn of the Tycoon's fan for a signal, at the mere will of whoever, for the time being, controls or directs the Executive. All the more certainly, that the whole tendency of this system has been astutely calculated to keep us defenceless, by shutting us out from

all the sources of information — and insuring our ignorance of everything which it most concerned the Foreign Representatives to know — whether as regarded national interests or their own safety. I consider this the great problem, therefore, in the existing relations between Japan and the Western Powers—much, if not all, that is yet uncertain in the future hanging upon the solution it may receive. In the meantime, living among scenes and with a race where it may truly be said, "Life's life is lied away," and "Murder breathes her bloody steam," we must take the ancient words of Plutarch for our motto—"Courage against Fury!"'

CHAPTER XIX.

AUDIENCE OF THE TYCOON—PRELIMINARY DIFFICULTIES—IMPORTANCE IN THE EAST OF SEEMING TRIFLES.

TOWARDS the end of August, in 1860, a day was fixed for my audience with the Tycoon—'The most High, Mighty, and Glorious Prince, His Imperial and Royal Majesty,' as he is styled in the Queen's letter accrediting Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Yeddo, the delivery of which to the Tycoon in person was the object of the audience.

It had been more than six months in my hands, waiting the settlement of a 'difficulty' which had arisen with the Resident Minister of the United States, respecting the manner of *his* reception about the same time the preceding year,—when he thought there was a marked want of observance and ceremony in the whole of the arrangements, compared with the reception he had received when he first came to Yeddo to deliver the President's letter, prior to his entering on his negotiations for a treaty. No pains had been taken to keep his passage to the palace free, and his norimon was hustled, and he himself incommoded, in a most unseemly way, by the retainers, grooms, and servants hanging about the outer courts of the palace as he passed in. Not desiring to interpose any obstacle to his arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, and obtaining the *amende honorable* he had demanded, by another audience under more fitting conditions and ceremonial—unaffected by any precedent which might be created by any of his colleagues, I had deferred taking any steps for my own reception. I did so the more

willingly, Mr. Harris having consulted officially with me on the subject, and communicated both the offence offered, and the steps he proposed taking in vindication of the honour and dignity of his Government. I considered him perfectly right in not passing over what we neither of us doubted was intended as a slight *in the eyes of the Japanese Court*, including all the Daimios and retainers on the spot. In Eastern courts it is precisely by such studied slights and insults—often veiled under a pretence of showing honour, and always denied when they are found out—that Eastern diplomacy seeks to avenge itself on Foreign Powers for the humiliation of receiving their Representatives, or holding any relations with foreigners at all,—except as tribute-bearers or suppliants! And as the knowledge any European can possess, in the first instance, of the etiquette, forms, and customs of an Eastern court—more especially where, as in Japan, our relations are new—must be very slight and imperfect,—they feel and know their advantage, and are generally disposed to press it to the utmost, by imposing upon an Ambassador some mockery of their forms, which is alleged to be in accordance with their customs, while it is, in fact, the reverse, and calculated to humiliate and degrade in the eyes of the natives. It may be something seemingly frivolous or indifferent in itself—whether the robe of the foreigner be blue or yellow, whether his head be covered or bare, the courtiers in full costume or in morning wrappers,—their slippers on or off; their trousers to the ancle or a yard longer to conceal their feet*—it matters very little what; the only question for a Foreign Representative is,—whether the forms and costumes adopted are such as, according to established customs and etiquette of the country, would be held to indicate respect,—or insult and humiliation? For the *prestige* of the nation so treated in the person of its Representative, and his own personal influence and weight at the Court where he is accredited,—will be determined by these seemingly indifferent matters. This, of course, will appear obvious

* The official costume in grand ceremonies of the Tycoon's Court.

enough to any sensible person on reflection; and is matter of notoriety and universal experience among those who have lived among Asiatics; but it is just one of those subjects which offer a tempting handle to newspaper writers, who, sometimes from ignorance, but often (counting upon the ignorance of their readers) with mischievous intent, seek to damage a public servant, or the Government which employs him. It is always easy to hold up such matters to ridicule as idle pretensions, springing from an exaggerated estimate of personal importance on the part of the individual agent;—although it must presuppose a greater amount of fatuity than usually falls to the share of men holding public appointments of trust and responsibility, to assume that any personal feeling enters into the question. There are not many Europeans who could feel it individually, and, as regarded themselves, apart from their office, worthy of a moment's thought, whether an Eastern potentate or his Minister received them in slippers and dressing-gown, if it involved no moral appreciation or political consequences. The tendency is, in truth, all the other way. We care so little what Easterns—with whom we have no really social or sympathetic relations, and no free intercourse of any kind—actually think of us; and we can in reality know so little of their true sentiments, or what they say and do among themselves in connection with us,—that, unless it be known there is an *intention* to offer insult, diplomatic agents, political residents, and all other European functionaries employed from Constantinople to Yeddo, are much more disposed to consider them in the light of barbarians, whose ceremonials and ideas of honour are all so many puerilities. They are in danger of erring in the opposite direction, by inattention to forms, to which the native authorities often attach immense importance, and thus either give offence by neglect;—or put up, in ignorance, with treatment which lowers and degrades them in Eastern eyes. Human nature remains the same in all climes; and whether rubbing of noses, a particular costume, or prescribed

contortions and postures of the body, be considered marks of respect and amity, or of scorn and insult, between men, may be very indifferent;—but it can never be a matter of indifference which of the two sentiments *are intended to be expressed* by any of these in the relations of Foreign Representatives and Eastern potentates. It might, in one sense, be very indifferent whether Lord Macartney, our first Ambassador to Pekin, was preceded by Chinese flag-bearers, supposed to be in his honour, and with flags written over with characters which described the Embassy as humble 'bearers of tribute to the Lord of all Kings,'—but the political consequences and influences may not have been washed out with the blood of two wars. It may not have been very material, so far as the American Minister, Mr. Ward, was personally concerned;—whether he jolted over the roads between Peihtang and Pekin in a vehicle unfitted for one in his position; but the influence on the population, the court, and his own action and power to enforce respect for treaties and a nation's rights,—would assuredly be felt, and disadvantageously, in every after transaction.

Thus much it seemed desirable to say on a subject of no small importance in the larger question of European diplomacy and Eastern policy—not very generally or well understood anywhere in Europe. Believing Mr. Harris to be perfectly right in resenting what had taken place, and insisting upon an *amende*, I waited patiently, therefore, for the end of the affair. The obstinacy of the resistance on the part of the Council of State was a clear proof to my mind, if any farther proof had been wanting, that a slight had been intended — not, indeed, that the American should see and know it, but merely that the spectacle should be given *to the Japanese* in how little estimation Foreign Representatives were held by the Tycoon and his Government — and that any small Daimio was entitled to more consideration and respect! And it was precisely this public depreciation which it behoved all the *corps diplomatique* combined, if necessary, seriously to resist and have as publicly reversed. In this there was,

fortunately a perfect accord among the only three Diplomatic Agents in Yeddo—the American, French, and English; and indeed in all the questions which arose during the first eighteen months, it was a subject of congratulation, and undoubtedly a great advantage to all, that this general accordance of views was constant. And when, after that period, there was a broad divergence,—and the Minister of the United States took one view in a grave question of national or rather Western policy, and the Representatives of all the other Treaty Powers — England, France, Holland, and Prussia, another—it was to me, as I am sure it must have been to all, a subject of great regret. As unity of sentiment and policy among the Foreign Representatives must always be a great element of strength in dealing with an Eastern Power, so will disunion and divergence of views necessarily be a source of weakness. Previously to this unfortunate schism, the only difference had been a greater disposition on Mr. Harris's part to think favourably of the Government, and to give them credit for more of good faith and sincerity, than any of his colleagues thought justified by their acts and the course of events. But this was only natural, perhaps, in the circumstances in which Mr. Harris had been placed. To the Japanese he owed a great diplomatic success, as the negotiator of the first *commercial treaty*, by which both Trade and Diplomatic relations were established; while on all his colleagues devolved the less agreeable and less easy task—of reducing treaties made by others, to working realities. As they had daily experience of the obstructions created by the Japanese Government, from the Council of State down to the lowest official or yaconin about the Legations—they very naturally saw less to admire in the friendly expressions of Ministers. It was perhaps inevitable, that the two should look with different eyes upon the course of the Government to which they were accredited, and be disposed to apply a different test to its assurances of good will,—and cordial desire to provide for our security and give execution to treaties. Deeds,

not words, forms an *experimentum crucis* before which all professions are apt to lose much of their value — and when the deeds are wholly inconsistent with, and often in utter contradiction to the words of promise, it is not easy, where there is no personal predilection or foregone conclusion biassing the judgement, to believe in the good faith or sincerity of those who are responsible for both. I say responsible for both; but for the second Mr. Harris often found excuses, in the want of power which he attributed to the Tycoon and his Council to give such fulfilment; or even to prevent acts directly affecting the security of life and property; and violating the first conditions of a treaty of amity and commerce,— or indeed of any permanent and peaceable relations.

The full developement of this original cause of divergence, into a manifest and avowed want of unity in action and thought, was yet to come; and in the meantime, both the French Chargé-d'Affaires and myself gave the Ministers distinctly to understand that we did not desire our respective audiences until they had satisfactorily arranged with the Minister of the United States the conditions and ceremonial such as he could accept, for the farther reception he had required;—and that *we were in entire accord with him on the subject.* At last, after negotiations and conferences which seemed well nigh interminable, a programme having been agreed upon with Mr. Harris, it was presented to me and accepted. By this the whole ceremonial, from the door of the Legations to the palace, and back again, was fixed.

Mr. Harris had his audience first, as had been previously arranged;— and his report being satisfactory, a day was fixed for the British Minister. I could certainly have desired that it had not been a broiling day in August under an eastern sun — but these things must be taken as they come. According to preconcerted arrangements, Takimoto Ɒzoosiono Kami, one of the eight Governors of Foreign Affairs, arrived soon after 7 A.M., to conduct the procession to the palace,— an hour and a

half's course in a norimon. In a few minutes the *cortége* was *en route*. First, the Governor and his suite — then the British Minister and the members of the Legation, Japanese and British, with standard, spear, and umbrella bearers—led horses, and a considerable following of Tycoon's officers, according to the custom of the country, when men of rank or high officials appear in public. The whole way, through some four miles of streets, was kept clear by the ward constables with their iron staves and jingling rings, aided by a large addition of Tycoon's officers;—and in the official quarter by the retainers of the respective Daimios as we passed their several residences. All traffic was either stopped or turned out of the course of the procession. The inferior and unprivileged classes were stopped, and officials made to pass by the side outside the line. The authorities kept their word *loyalement* for once; and the whole way there and back, this order was strictly observed. Arrived within the third moated enclosure we came to another bridge, high above the level of the lower causeway, leading directly to that part where the Tycoon kept his court, while his own palace was being rebuilt. Here we had to leave our norimons and cross the bridge on foot, the gentlemen with me having descended at a previous station—no Daimio or officer, we were told, being allowed to pass over the bridge otherwise than on foot.

Passing through the massive gateway with bastions flanking a walled *enceinte* built of great blocks of granite, a five minute's walk, still preceded by Takimoto Kami, brought me to the entrance of the palace. A sort of large vestibule opening into a close courtyard of no great extent, and the exact counterpart of the only Daimios' residences to which Foreigners have had access—those of the Ministers — gave entrance to the palace. Here, our servants having brought some camp-stools expressly sent, to provide seats where there were none,—we changed our shoes, that we might not mark the trim mats of the palace, or enter the royal presence in unseemly guise.

Facing us in the square apartment forming an inner hall, some fifty officials all in gauze and silks were on their knees, and in front of these several of the Governors of Foreign Affairs, — disguised in a court costume so quaint and strange, and so utterly *bizarre* to European eyes, that I had some difficulty in recognising my old acquaintances, and still more in repressing a smile when the recognition took place. How shall I describe it? Nothing but the pencil can convey a true notion of what it is, or rather what its effect is, to anyone who has not seen the reality!

COURT DRESS OF JAPANESE

To begin with the head, the shaven and usually bare crown, had perched upon the top what I suppose must be called a cap, for want of any more appropriate name, made of black lacquered papier-maché. In shape it appears like a boat turned bottom up, with one half cut off and the edges folded in. The surcoat of gauze, projecting at the shoulders, and called in Japanese the *Kami-shimo*, partially conceals a robe of darker hue, beneath which again a pair of Turkish trousers, or petticoat rather, of figured silk, the *Haka-ma*, is slit open at the sides to allow the outer robe to be tucked in, and secured at the waist by a broad belt, through which the two swords, the one long and the other short, are passed. But the most singular part of the whole costume, and that which,

added to the head-gear, gave an irresistibly comic air to the whole presentment, was the immeasurable prolongation of the silk trousers. These, instead of stopping short at the heels, are unconscionably lengthened, and left to trail two or three feet behind them,— so that their feet as they advanced, seemed pushed into what should have been the knees of the garment. The consequence was, that they were compelled to shuffle along, like so many people shorn by some general calamity of both legs, and walking on their stumps,— much as a man cut down to his knees might be expected to progress,—an effect still farther heightened by said prolongations trailing behind on the floor, collapsed and evidently empty. It certainly required some command of countenance to follow gravely these high officers in such a masquerading costume; and how they managed to shuffle on, without tumbling at each step, was all but incomprehensible. I have seen none of the Japanese conjurors do anything better.

JAPANESE 'LORDS IN WAITING'

Thus preceded, we were ushered into an ante-room, where all the Governors of Foreign Affairs came to make their salutation. Then all the high Ometskis of the palace, to the number of some seven or eight, were presented in form—the 'lookers through,' who are supposed to see and to note everything for the information of the Government. These were followed by the heads of the Treasury and Mint. A few minutes were thus passed, while cups of tea were handed round and the

arrival of the British Minister was being announced to the Council of State, and by them to the Tycoon. The room was of twenty-eight mats (so they measure rooms in Japan, each mat being of regulation size, the larger six feet by three),—of no great pretensions, yet handsome withal. If the walls were not covered with *chef-d'œuvres* from the Gobelins, or the pencil of a Titian or Correggio, the sliding panels or screens, of which the partitions are always formed in Japanese houses, presented pictures dashed off with a free pencil, and which had at least the merit of singularity—birds soaring in skies of gold, trees rising out of equally effulgent seas (or hills indifferently), with a dreamy sort of vagueness as to the respective limits of earth, sky, or water, though all were evidently intended to appear. The floor was of matting, in the usual way, each mat edged with a border of figured silk, the effect of which is by no means bad. The ceiling was lacquered and divided into square compartments, deeply cut, with gold and coloured leaves embossed in lacquer forming the centres, not unlike our older Gothic ceilings. Some elaborate, but rather coarse carving, filled up certain spaces running round one side of the room, between the ceiling and the tops of the sliding panels, which are seldom higher than six feet from the ground,—as tall Saxons and Celts have found to their cost many times. When Admiral Hope was at the Legation I was always in anxiety for his head,—and H.M.'s Consul at Kanagawa fairly tried the strength of his skull against the sharp edge of the traversing beam,—and measured his length backward on the ground under a blow that might have killed a weaker man.* On the side of the room opposite the entrance a very narrow court, or passage rather,—open to the sky, let in light and air from above, and was evidently there for that purpose

* Upon a later occasion, Mr. Oliphant, the Secretary of Legation, owed his life to this peculiarity of construction,—every blow aimed at his head with the two-handed sword, in his rencontre in the passage with some of the assassins, being turned aside in the dark by the low traverse beam.

only, none coming from any other quarter. By the time I had made these observations, I was invited to move forward through a corridor lined with kneeling attendants some two or three deep, until I reached another and smaller room,— or rather an angle screened off, where I had to wait until the signal should be given that the Tycoon was seated in the audience hall.

The detention was very short, and, emerging again into the corridor, there was another pause opposite a large room, filled with more than a hundred officers in grand official costume, all kneeling, five and six deep, in rows; perfectly mute, and immoveable as statues, their heads just raised from the floor. This was the room, I found, adjoining the audience chamber; and two officers in the same posture, a little in advance, were evidently watching for the moment to give the signal for our advance. This followed almost immediately,— when my usher with the inexpressible prolongations instantly fell on his hands and knees, and, with his head to the ground, turned the eventful corner which brought him into the presence. Upon the whole, his costume seemed to gain in rationality, whatever its owner might do, by the change of posture; for now the same silken continuations served to cover his unsandalled feet, — and, to a certain extent, disguise what sort of a being was under their folds. Following him as close as his drapery would allow, I came to the entrance of the audience chamber, which was raised a low step above the level of the corridor, and before me I saw, some thirty feet off, on a kind of dais at the farther end of the room, the young Tycoon. He was seated on a sort of throne, or square pedestal, raised about six feet from the ground. He wore a head-dress something like that of his officers, and was dressed in a silken robe of very ample proportions, in which he appeared enveloped from head to foot. There was only a *demi-jour* admitted — indeed this prevails in all Japanese houses, from the absence of glass and

the want of height in all their paper-covered screens, which do the duty of both doors and windows. The light is still farther obscured by a projecting roof, to cover the inevitable verandah, necessary in all cases to protect the paper from the rain. It was impossible, therefore, even when I approached much nearer, to distinguish his features very accurately. But he was evidently a mere youth, though stout and large-limbed, with a full face and rather heavy expression. To my right, below the dais, three members of the Great Council of State were kneeling in attendance. One of these was the President and First Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was to receive from my hands the letter of the Queen, after I had delivered my address. Behind the Tycoon was a numerous retinue, kneeling in some strange attitude I had not seen before — leaning, I think, upon their sheathed swords, as if in the act of springing to their feet — or prepared to do so at a signal. To the left of me, also, a considerable number of Daimios and officers were grouped, all kneeling. Upon the whole, it was impossible not to be struck with the hushed silence and solemn decorum of the assemblage. Not a movement could be detected, nor a sound heard, until, as I advanced to the centre of the second mat, and made, according to the programme, my first obeisance by a bow, when my usher and master of the ceremonies — a First Lord in Waiting, who was still on his knees and hands to my right, and a step or two behind — announced me in a sort of *lingua franca* — a remnant of former barbaric procedures with the Dutch — something created for the occasion, I should think; it certainly was neither Japanese nor pure Dutch — still less English. It was neither '*Koyé*,' nor '*Yomi*;' but it sounded something like 'Inglesa Minister.' This done, he shuffled on two mats farther, while I advanced on and, pausing, made my second reverence; then two more mats and a third bow brought me within a few paces of the presence seat. I had been told the prostrate Usher of the Rod would be

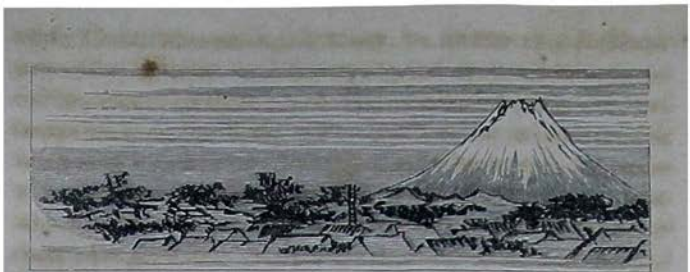
close to my feet to take hold of my trousers if I forgot my lesson and advanced too far; and the Governors in waiting had made divers efforts, both previously in the Legation and on my arrival at the palace, to induce me to go through a rehearsal in the audience chamber, for their satisfaction. They appeared horribly afraid there might be some step too much or too little. As I declined going through such mummery, they evidently were at their wits' end. 'Would I not like before the audience to *see* the room?' I supposed it was like any other large room with mats, which I could see as I walked, and count, if necessary. 'Oh no!—it was unlike any other room, and Mr. Harris had gone to see it,'—carefully suppressing that they had indeed inveigled him the first time, but on the second occasion, knowing their object, he had resolutely resisted all their cajoleries. However, I gave my lowly guide no trouble—I stopped as he stopped, and gave the Tycoon his stipulated number of reverences, and, after the last, delivered a very short address; which the Tycoon answered still more briefly,—by what appeared indeed three or four words, although the Dutch translation, which had been previously placed in my hands by the Ministers, consisted of as many sentences. Mr. Eusden, the secretary in the Japanese department, having handed me the Queen's letter before I began my speech, the Minister of Foreign Affairs then rose, and received it from my hands. I made another reverence, which the Tycoon acknowledged by an inclination of his head, and that was the signal for my retiring, which I did, *en reculant*—bowing in the same order as when I entered. I had been told that I might turn round, but I said that was contrary to our custom before crowned heads; and therefore I should not avail myself of the permission—willing to show to the Tycoon the observance and respect due to my own Sovereign. It nearly terminated untowardly, however, for my usher. On my stepping down into the corridor, just before turning

round as I left the chamber, he had already gained his feet, and was shuffling away before me, leaving at least a yard of silk drapery behind him, trailing on the ground, when my heel pinned one of these. For a moment, it seemed doubtful whether he must part company with his garment, or fall backward to save it. But, with this small misadventure, all went smoothly. I retired to another room, where I received the congratulations of the Council of Ministers; and then my party wended its way back as it came, preceded by another of the Governors of Foreign Affairs, and we arrived at the Legation about noon. Immediately after, Oribeno-no-kami, a second Governor of Foreign Affairs, made his appearance with a box carried by eight men — a present from the Tycoon, with which he was specially charged, as a time-honoured custom. On the top was a roll of dried fish and sea-weed, tied round by a red and white string, made of twisted paper, the only string they use — supposed to be emblematic of humility, and to remind the Japanese that they were 'once a race of poor fishermen, and that by temperance and frugality they had risen to greatness, which only by such virtues could be preserved.' The box contained a series of trays, with a variety of the most *recherché* confectionery, tastefully arranged in variegated rows and figures. The two Governors and chief interpreter, Moriyama, accepted my invitation to breakfast, this answering to their usual noon meal, and seemed to enjoy some preserved mutton and green peas, as well as the champagne; and did not even refuse to eat—in courtesy to their host, probably—some remarkably tough beef, of Japanese growth. I fear they could make no pretensions to be considered good Buddhists; nor have I yet met any of the official class, who do not either feel, or affect, great contempt for any creed but that of Taouists, or some kindred sect of rationalists and sceptics. Moriyama is an especial admirer of ale and coffee — the latter a very general taste among all who came to the Legation; and, indeed, nothing but

opportunity is wanting, I fancy, to make the Japanese generally, consumers of many of our European luxuries—to the great detriment, it is to be feared, of the frugality and temperance so earnestly inculcated as the habits of their fishermen ancestors. Perhaps their Rulers are not so far wrong in looking forward with dread to the time when Western civilisation and luxuries shall take the place of their own more simple habits of life—with no wants but those which are easily supplied, and that from their own soil, without the necessity of paying tribute to the foreigner. How soon such changes may come, it is impossible to say—seeing what marvellous progress has marked the last seven years. Notwithstanding their long and resolutely maintained isolation and exclusivism,—carried even into their political economy, and cherished in the national mind, as their ark of safety and the shibboleth of their independence—the day has arrived when a British Minister can take up his residence in the capital, and is received by the Tycoon, not as were the chiefs of the Dutch factory at Decima—long the only representatives of Europe—in days now long passed, and never, it is to be hoped, to return. There is hope in this, but there is also danger;—for when were ever changes so sudden and extreme, made without danger and risk of reaction?

I may say, in conclusion, that I was struck with the order and decorum of all I saw within the palace. As things are ordered at the levée, nothing can exceed the general simplicity of the arrangements. The suite of rooms and corridors are unencumbered with a vestige of furniture—a Japanese noble, like his serf or subject, as we know, sitting on his heels and eating off a little lacquer tray on legs, standing only a few inches from the ground, while both sleep on the mats of the floor, with a pillow of lacquer or wood not larger than the head. May they not truly congratulate themselves that they have well preserved the Spartan simplicity of their ancestors,—content with the same simple fare of rice and fish, and requiring no foreign luxuries to

absorb their wealth or enervate their energies? The rooms admitting of being opened their whole width and length upon the ample corridors, by merely removing the sliding screens which are the only partitions in a Japanese house,— allow a great display of officers and attendants in their costumes of ceremony, without crowding. Passing through rank after rank of these, mute and motionless as I have described them, suddenly, on some signal apparently, there is a general and long-prolonged sibilated sound impossible to describe, something between a '*hiss*' and a long-drawn '*hish-t.*' It seems to circulate through the whole building far and near, and to be echoed through all the courts and corridors; and is supposed, I fancy, to indicate some act or movement of the Tycoon, bespeaking reverence and a hushed attention. It was immediately after one of these rustlings of the breeze of reverence vibrating through the lips of a thousand sibilating courtiers, that I received the signal to advance to the entrance of the council chamber. I have never seen or heard anything like it, or indeed in the least resembling this strange but impressive way of bespeaking profound reverence.



FUSIYAMA FROM THE SUBURBS OF YEDDO

CHAPTER XX.

CHANGE OF SCENE — A PILGRIMAGE TO FUSIYAMA, AND A VISIT TO THE SPAS OF ATAMI.

VARIOUS motives led me to plan an expedition through the interior to the far-famed sacred mountain; and various causes also delayed my departure until I had some reasons to fear the Japanese Ministers might prove right in their confident predictions, that it was too late to accomplish the ascent. August was already past and the first days of September were gliding on, while I was yet engaged in removing the obstacles raised by the Ministers themselves in the first instance, and admirably spread over time and space subsequently by their subordinates — with a fertility of invention and hardihood of persistence, which, if it did not secure them success, would in a better cause have entitled them to great praise.

There are but two months in the year, usually July and August, when the mountain is sufficiently free from snow to permit the ascent. So at least the natives assert who go to this snow-capped and cloud-enveloped shrine of their gods, in crowds, every year; and, from my subsequent experience, I should judge the ascent to be well nigh impossible after any snow has fallen. But, although they go in numbers, strangely enough it is only the

poorer classes,— to whom, one would suppose, both time and money must be the most difficult to command; while the absence of either would create insurmountable obstacles. But what will not faith and energy—even a Pagan's faith—accomplish? It appears, if I may believe the Ministers, that it is not considered consistent with the dignity of a Daimio, or even an officer of any rank, to make the pilgrimage — perhaps because too many of the greasy mob must unavoidably come in close contact with them. Be this as it may, it was one of the objections strongly urged by the Ministers: 'It was not fitting in a person of the rank of a British Envoy to make the pilgrimage, limited by custom if not by law to the lower classes!' If it be asked why the Ministers were so averse to my giving effect to a plain stipulation of treaties, by which the head of a Diplomatic mission is secured, with right of residence in the capital, *the free right to travel all over the empire*, I can only reply that there are many reasons apparent enough. But which may have been the most influential of these, or the real objection, is quite another question. No doubt the whole policy of the existing rulers is to limit and restrict, as far as possible, all locomotion of foreigners, and all intercourse, commercial or social, with the natives. The infiltration of European ideas, principles, and habits of thought, felt to be antagonistic and subversive of those heretofore prevalent,— is not, in their opinion, a desirable consummation; and, so far as in them lies, it will be prevented. Of this I can have no doubt; and with this ever-present feeling and guiding principle, it is not to be wondered at if they have from the beginning spared no effort to create impediments, and place the Foreign Representatives especially (who by treaty and diplomatic usage could claim so much more latitude of action than any others) in a sort of *moral quarantine*. It has only been by a series of well-contested battles, in which much strategy and perseverance has been displayed by the Japanese,— and much firmness and determination on the

other side has been required,—that it has been possible to secure any semblance of liberty in the capital —where, to say the truth, our presence was, and is long likely to be, particularly unpalatable to all the privileged classes. It was first attempted to bar all travelling by land to the port of Kanagawa, some seventeen miles distant. Then, under pressure of alarm at the danger of disaffected persons doing us personal injury, it was sought to confine the members of the several Legations for an indefinite time, 'until the country was more quiet,' within the walls of the residences assigned. To this day, no Japanese of education or station can pass within the gates, unless actually employed by the Government. Nor, indeed, can any Japanese—servant, workmen, or merchant—without a license, for which, if they have anything to sell, a black mail is levied.*

Despite all difficulties, this first attempt of any Foreign Representative to make the treaty clause securing right of travel *a reality*, succeeded; and, on September the 4th, a party of eight started from the British Consulate at Kanagawa, which, being a day's journey on the road, had been made the rendezvous. Besides the permanent staff of the Legation, I had the advantage of being accompanied by Lieut. Robinson, of the Indian navy, provided with a few instruments for the purpose of scientific observations;—and a practical botanist, in the person of Mr. Veitch, a son of the well-known London horticulturist. This I deemed especially fortunate, as Sir William Hooker had written to say it was an object of great interest to botanists to learn something of the

* After the event, it was referred to by writers in the local papers of China and Japan, seldom disposed to see any good in the acts or the motives of officials, as a wanton outrage to the feelings of the Japanese, and a source of danger to foreigners generally; while others, again, made it a reproach to the British Minister that he himself exercised a privilege, which he denied to the rest of his countrymen. Both charges admit of a very simple answer. The right of travelling through the empire was secured by treaty to Diplomatic Agents, and denied to all others — and the right was stipulated for and insisted upon—that it might *be exercised*, and thus gradually break down the barriers to free intercourse with the people, and give access to the interior, which it was not judged expedient to attempt by other means.

mountain vegetation of Japan; and especially Fusiyama, of which nothing absolutely was known. I felt it no breach of treaty to attach, temporarily, to the Legation such provisional members;—nor did the Government take any exception, or attempt to limit, in any way, the number of my suite.

Travelling in Japan, unless as a pedestrian and one of the unprivileged classes, is not altogether a simple matter; especially is it not so when a large party of Europeans go together, and intend to be away some weeks. Every additional unit added to the number, involves transport and commissariat arrangements, which seem to increase, not in arithmetical but in geometrical rates of progression! Accordingly, before I mounted myself, I marked with dismay a seemingly endless line of baggage-animals — indulging in the most vehement and eccentric protests against their

HOW JAPANESE BEASTS OF BURDEN COMPORT THEMSELVES

burdens, which boded no good to anything fragile — and led horses issuing out of the gates accompanied by their keepers. Servants and followers of every denomination, under every imaginable pretext, had, I found, attached themselves, and apparently without limit, to the party. The expedition had evidently risen in popular favour, once the

objections of the authorities had been put aside. To make a pilgrimage to Fusiyama is an act of virtue with the natives, to which deliverance from misfortune and sickness attaches; and an opportunity of doing this at my expense instead of their own, and enjoying a holiday at the same time, with an additional chance of service and good wages, was altogether too much to be resisted. Even the Government officials ordered to accompany me, and my most troublesome impediments in the beginning,—at last discovered that I had chosen a propitious time for my expedition, and evinced the greatest alacrity when it became inevitable, and their part of obstructives had been played out. So I was, perhaps, to be considered fortunate, on the whole, that my commissariat did not quite take the proportions of an Indian detachment on a line of march. Although I had especially stipulated for the absence of any parade, and desired to dispense with an accompanying escort, wishing on all accounts to travel as much as possible in a private capacity, the Government's declared anxiety for my security (along roads they persisted in considering dangerous) made the company of a certain number of officials inevitable. A Vice-Governor, three or four yaconins (officers of the Government entitled to wear two swords), and of course an '*ometsky*,' or spy, to watch *them* if not me — more probably both — made up my escort. These all being gentlemen of a certain dignity, each had their norimons with bearers and attendants, the Vice-Governor with umbrella and spear-bearers. These, added to my own, made a *cortége* of at least a hundred persons, with more than thirty horses. and, as my eye followed them along the road nearly as far as I could see, I sighed involuntarily to think what I was undertaking,—having had some experience of travelling in the East, both in its cares and its costs, and under similar conditions of a large following. In truth, it had required some effort on my part to face the inevitable troubles;—and without a political object, which I deemed of some importance, I should never perhaps have started.

But it was a question whether the clause of the treaty giving unrestricted right of travelling to Foreign Representatives residing in the capital, was, like so many other stipulations, to be regarded as a dead letter to all practical purposes? It so happened, that neither I nor any of my colleagues hitherto had found leisure or inclination to put it to a practical test, and give it effect by undertaking any expedition. American, Dutch, and Russian agents had, on one or two occasions, travelled along the high road, either from Nagasaki or Hakodadi, on their way to and from the capital for purposes of negotiation, as the Dutch formerly to carry tribute; but a journey in the interior, undertaken for the avowed purpose of recreation and observation, — and out of the beaten track, in the exercise of a treaty right, was as yet an unheard-of thing. The difficulties and obstacles I encountered, though not on the whole more than experience led me to anticipate, were at least many and tiresome. Sometimes the pleas for delay or abandonment put forward were amusing. At first it was the unsettled state of the country, and the risk of venturing so far from the capital and seat of government; then it was too late in the season, nay, 'at certain times, the mountain opened in huge fissures and swallowed up the incautious traveller.' Even when all hope of absolutely stopping me must have been lost, it was found a great feast, or *matsuri*, was going on, and the roads would be filled with drunken dissolute characters; so that at all events *I must* defer my departure a *few days*. This conceded, the preparations went on; and it was somewhat remarkable that from this moment, having made a good fight and been defeated, they seemed to accept the result as inevitable, and 'ate their leek' with no bad grace after all. Indeed, from the hour of my leaving Yeddo to the day of my return after a month's absence, I met not only with no farther obstruction; but, to all appearance, everything was done by the officials and Government to make my journey both pleasant and safe: this I feel bound in justice to record.

I have said there was a political object, apart from the pleasure of getting away from my *quasi* state prison in Yeddo, and the attractions of so novel an expedition in a new field of observation. The prospect of fine scenery, change of air, and an experience of the sulphur spas of *Atami*, with a quiet sojourn by the seaside, all of which were in the programme, might have been insufficient. But I wished especially to ascertain for myself whether there was any foundation for the never-failing assertion of the Ministers, that the 'country was in an unsettled state, owing to the increased dearness of everything, caused by the sudden demands of foreign trade.' I wished to have the opportunity of judging whether the excitement and hostility towards foreigners, in consequence of the newly-contracted foreign relations, and departure from the ancient policy of seclusion and isolation, did or did not exist — away from the centre of government. And this personal observation could alone supply, while travelling leisurely through the country. Other objects there were also only to be attained by my own presence. It is true, I ran the risk of encountering disagreeable evidences of the power of the Rulers of Japan to verify their own prophecies; neither did I overlook the circumstance of such a journey offering a great temptation to convince me by *facts* of the accuracy of the conclusion they were so anxious to impress upon me—namely, that such was the state of public feeling that our own safety, not less than that of the Government, *required* the *quasi sequestration* of Foreign Representatives in their respective dwellings, and a farther modification of existing treaties, so far as the opening of additional ports was concerned. But these were risks to be deliberately incurred—in view of the importance of securing some independent means of judgement, or the chance at least of doing so—which such an expedition, far from the capital and centre of government, could alone afford. And I had heard so much of this dread hydra which stood in the way of all advance,—warning the foreigner off, with threatening voice and gesture, that I was

strongly moved to take a voyage of discovery in pursuit of some more tangible evidence of its existence than had yet been afforded me.

The route to Fusiyama from Yeddo skirts the coast for some fifty miles, crossing here and there a peninsula. The *Tocado*, or high road to the capital already referred to, winding along the coast to Nagasaki and other towns south of Yeddo, was open to us as far as Yosiwara. By this road all the Daimios whose territories lie south, yearly travel to and from the court, for a forced residence of six months; and the mountain-pass of Hakoni, through which it leads, is strictly guarded, to prevent arms being carried toward the capital, or wife or female child belonging to Daimios passing out from it,—as these remain hostages during his return to his territory. The day's journey for these magnates of the land, who travel with an immense retinue of retainers, sometimes several thousand, seldom exceeds twenty miles, and more generally fifteen is the limit—or from five to six *Ri*, a measure of about 4,900 yards, or two miles and two-thirds. At the several towns at which they usually halt there are a certain number of *honjens*—houses of entertainment reserved expressly for Daimios and Tycoon's officers, where they put up for the night. These are generally kept by some servant or retainer of the lord of the district; who will either supply the usual food from the kitchen attached, or the traveller's servants can prepare it themselves, or finally purchase it from a neighbouring *traiteur* for their master. These houses are generally spacious, clean,—and empty. The clean matted floor supplies at once a seat, a couch, and a table. Wadded counterpanes, and even musquito nets, can generally be supplied for sleeping.

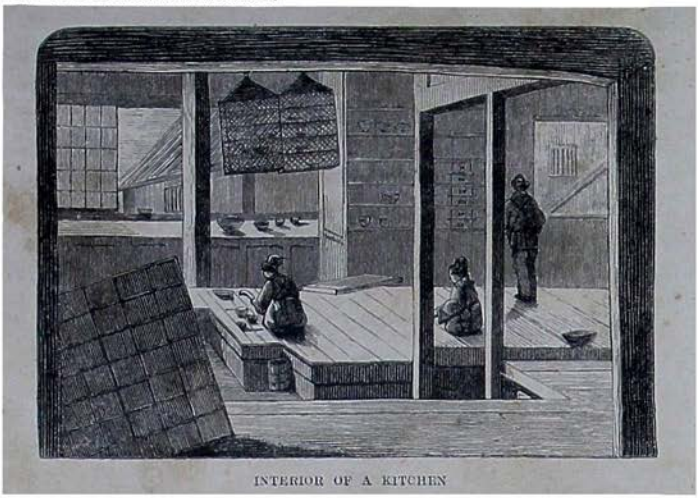
The principal apartments are at what may be termed the back of the house, situated, as the dwelling always is, *entre cour et jardin*; and whatever the space allotted, a garden of some kind is always to be found. Though only a few square feet, sometimes,—there will still be a miniature imitation of a wilderness, of dwarfed trees, rockwork,

lake, and lawn. These are indispensable in all, and in some where the space is less restricted, and the vicinity of mountains aids the artist, there are cascades brought over ledges of rock, subterranean caves with gold and silver fish passing in and out; and trees of every variety of hue and shape, including the pine and yew, bamboo, and a long list of flowering shrubs, among which oranges and camellias are common. Here, away from the noise of the entrance and the kitchen—the latter always in the vicinity of the former—the traveller may take his rest, and with very little help from the imagination, believe himself in the midst of a spacious garden and grounds, laid out with skill and taste. Immediately after arrival the landlord appears in full costume, and, prostrating himself with his

SALUTATION OF MINE HOST

head to the ground, felicitates himself on the honour of receiving so distinguished a guest, begs to receive your orders, and that you will be pleased to accept a humble offering at his hands—generally a little fruit, a few grapes or oranges, occasionally a rope of eggs, that is to say, a row of these, curiously twisted and plaited in to a fine rope of straw. Due thanks having been given, he disappears, and you see no more of him or his servants—if, as usually happens, the guests bring their own, and do not require help—until the foot is in the stirrup; when he makes another formal salutation, with parting thanks and good wishes. I mention these details now, because once given they apply to the whole journey;—the house or garden may be a little larger or smaller, the paper on the walls which divides the rooms a little fresher or dingier, but all the essential features are stereotyped, and

exactly reproduced from one end of the kingdom to the other. I was frequently puzzled, at a few days' interval, to tell whether I had been in the same quarters before or not,—there is so little to individualise either the landlord or the accommodation.



INTERIOR OF A KITCHEN

The kitchen is, undoubtedly, the best furnished apartment in the house, as may be seen by the 'interior,' with all its accessories, drawn from nature. And in the few glimpses I ever had of these regions, it seemed to me that the presiding goddess had, if not the best quarters or the highest style of beauty, that which both sometimes fail to secure, 'troops of friends' and good cheer, with a capacity for sleep which could dispense with all accessories of feather bed and pillows. Nor, indeed, is there any room for compassion at the want of these adjuncts. The pillow in the foreground is of the smallest, and must require a tranquil sleeper; but the wadded quilt supplies a very good cover and bed in one, and the circular paper-shaded night-lamp sheds a soft and soothing light. To the principal apartments a bath-room, sometimes two or three, with conveniences of every kind adjoining, may be invariably counted upon—and models of cleanliness, such

as are rarely met with out of England, where the bath-rooms themselves, it must be confessed, are far too generally

A JAPANESE MARITORNES

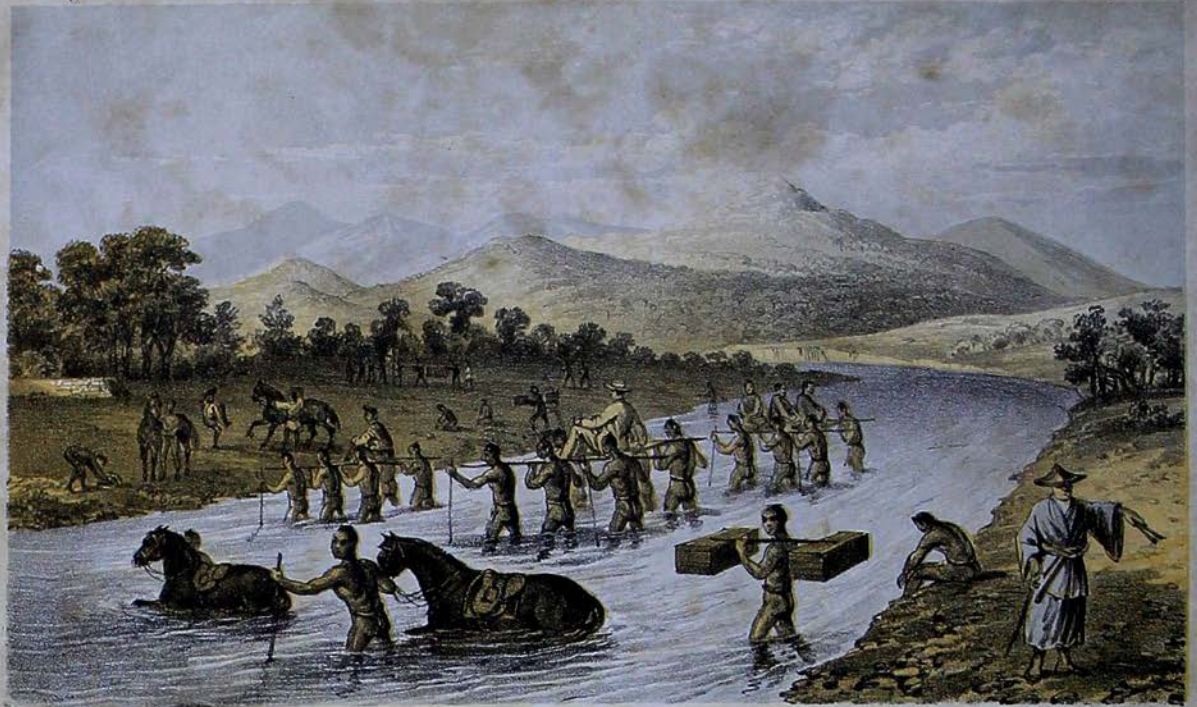
wanting. In these respects the Japanese are in a condition to give lessons to Europe. We always found pre-

WELL-EARNED REST

pared on our arrival at the house selected by the officer sent in advance, a bath of hot water and another of cold; the first to bathe in, and the second for a cold *douche* on stepping out, to brace up the relaxed fibres.

At last we were fairly on our way, and our pilgrimage to Fusiyama, '*mons excelsus et singularis*' as Kœmpfer describes it, 'which in beauty, perhaps, hath not its equal.' It may be seen from Yeddo at a distance of some eighty miles, on a bright summer evening, lifting its head high into the clouds, the western sun setting behind it and making a screen of gold on which its purple mass stands out in bold relief. Or, early in the morning, its glittering cone of snow, tipped with the rays of the rising orb;—and in either aspect it is certainly both singular and picturesque, springing abruptly from a broad base into an almost perfect cone, truncated only at the extreme pinnacle, and towering far above all the surrounding ranges of hills. To the Japanese who are anything but cosmopolitan, it may be the 'matchless' for which, as Kœmpfer goes on to say, 'poets cannot find words, nor painters skill and colours sufficient, to represent the mountain as they think it deserves.'

Our route is pretty accurately laid down in the rough tracing of a native map I sent to the Geographical Society, which, for want of tracing-paper, had been drawn on one of the Japanese oil-paper cloaks we purchased on the way. It may also be seen, on a smaller scale, in the map of Japan at the end of this volume. During the first few days the road lay over a succession of hills, of no great height, but from whence fine views were obtained over the cultivated valleys on either side, with a background of mountains to the westward, among which FUSI soars conspicuous in solitary grandeur. We passed through many large villages, and the town of TOTSOOKA, where we halted for breakfast. The second day carried us over a plain skirting the sea, from Foodisawa where we slept, to Odawara; before reaching which we had to cross the river *Saki*. While yet some distance from the entrance, a guard of honour was sent to meet the party by the Daimio of the



CROSSING THE RIVER TO ODAWARA.

territory, and preceded us into the town. *Sakigawa* is nearly as celebrated in Japanese art and story as Fusiyama, although less frequently the ornament of tea-cups or cabinets. Rude illustrations of both abound, and show among other things that the lithocrome process, so recently brought to perfection with us, has long been familiar to them, both in its principle and manipulation, blocks of wood only being used instead of stones.

This river, descending abruptly from the neighbouring hills, which are at no great distance, divides into two branches as it approaches the sea, spreading wide across a pebbly bottom. It appears to be subject to such sudden freshes in wet weather, or on the melting of the snow, and to such increase of volume, as well as width on its flat shores, that over one of the branches it has been found impossible to maintain a bridge. The consequence is, that lying across the main road to and from the capital a large body of *porters*—strong, brawny men—innocent of all drapery but a loin cloth, are always in attendance to carry the travellers across—the common sort on their shoulders, '*pick-a-back*,' the dignitaries, male and female, on short platforms borne by six men, with their arms crossed over each other's shoulders for greater steadiness, as depicted in the sketch on the opposite page. It would seem a tolerably lucrative monopoly—however, it has its drawbacks, for they are made responsible for the safety of their passengers; and if any accident happens to their burdens, they have nothing left but to drown with them, for no excuses are taken. Such is the theory and the law; I cannot so confidently speak of the practice. If railroads could only be placed under the same system, excursion trains might, perhaps, travel with safety. Accidents, at all events, are unknown here—partly, no doubt, because when the waters swell, these experienced men at the ford, in view of their responsibility, and the certainty of no traffic being possible without their aid, refuse the passage—and it occasionally happens that travellers on each side are detained several days looking

disconsolately at each other from the opposite banks. When the Gotairo (the Regent of the kingdom) was slain in the streets of Yeddo, as I have related, by a band of armed men who cut their way, sword in hand, through his retinue; it is said some of his own vassals in the country had got information of the plot against his life, and followed sharp on the heels of the conspirators — there was a day's interval, however, between them, and in that day the river became impassable! Life and death were hanging on their speed, but their road was stopped by this impassable ford; and when they reached Yeddo, the catastrophe, which their warning might have averted, was consummated, and their Prince had fallen.

We were more fortunate, and our stout porters carried us without demur across, though the water was surging round their hips in many places; but they seemed to know perfectly well where to pick their steps, and taking us in a zig-zag line up the stream, made their way without much difficulty. Our whole party were carried over for eleven itziboos — about 15*s.* — a large sum in Japan, to be divided amongst some thirty men for a half hour's work; but it is by no means certain this sum was paid to *them.* That was the amount charged to us; whether it ever reached their hands could not be ascertained, as the payment was necessarily made through the attendant officers — and there was at least a great probability of diminution on the way.

The entrance of such a cavalcade of foreigners was doubtless a great event in all the towns we passed through, in fact, nothing like it could ever have been seen before. And as each roadside village, and even the larger towns, generally consist of one long and seemingly endless street, the news of our approach spread as rapidly and unerringly as the message of an electric telegraph, turning out the whole population as if by a simultaneous shock; men, women, and children — clothed and nude — dogs, poultry, and cats! I think at Odawara no living thing could have been left inside. Such a waving sea of heads

seemed to bar our passage, that I began to congratulate myself (as we had outstripped all our own people), that my unknown friend the Daimio, had so courteously supplied me with an escort. I felt some curiosity as to the mode they would take to open a way through the dense mass of swaying bodies and excited heads, which looked all the more formidable the nearer we approached. My guides, however, seemed perfectly unembarrassed, and well they might be,—for when within a few steps of the foremost ranks, there was a wave of the fan and a single word of command issued, '*Shitanirio*!' (kneel down) when, as if by magic, a wide path was opened, and every head dropped; the body disappearing in some marvellous way behind the legs and knees of its owner. Certainly harlequin's wand or Aladdin's *sesame* never produced a more sudden or scenic effect. I could not help thinking how much more easily the wonder was wrought and the problem solved,—than would have been possible in the streets of London. If the magic fan and word could only be imported for the use of our policemen, without losing their spell-like effect, there is no saying what amount might be saved in yearly police-rates. I doubt, however, whether an English mob would be as susceptible of the same mesmeric influence? It probably requires a long preparatory training; — and whether severe or gentle, may be a question.

During both these days, which brought us to the foot of the Hakoni range of mountains, rising some 6,000 feet above the sea, nothing could exceed the beauty of the road. Generally a fine avenue of smooth gravel led through a succession of fertile plains and valleys, where the millet, buckwheat, and rice were all giving promise of rich harvest. A fruitful soil, a fine climate, and an industrious people,—make a list which seems to contain nearly all that can be desired for any country in the way of material elements of prosperity; unless they are in the case described in an old legend of Spain, which tells how *St. Iago*, the patron saint of Iberia, went to his Master

and begged some special favour for the country he had adopted. And first he asked for a fertile soil, for a fine climate, for brave sons to defend, and fair daughters to grace it; all of which were successively granted. Emboldened by this success, he asked that they should be blessed with a *good Government*; when his Master, according to the Spanish version, either wearied with so much importunity, or in a spirit of justice to other lands by way of compensation for so many rich gifts, replied with emphasis, 'that was a blessing they would never have!' And the Spaniard will tell you how loyally the word has been kept; and how all other blessings have been neutralised—by the want of this one crowning gift! This, however, can hardly be said with truth of Japan, to judge by what I have seen; but another and a better occasion will be found hereafter for dealing with this question.

Reflections on the government and civilisation of the Japanese, press upon the European every step he takes in this land, so singularly blessed in soil and climate—so happy in the contented character and simple habits of its people—yet so strangely governed by unwritten laws and irresponsible Rulers. I say unwritten, for, though the Ministers tell me a written code exists, I have been unable to obtain a copy, and unless they misled me it has never been printed.* A country without either statute, law, or lawyers, does seem an anomaly with a civilisation so advanced. Whether the want of the one may be held compensated by the absence of the other, in the estimation of the Japanese, I dare not venture to say; I can only affirm that they seem very well contented without either. If their administration of justice be in many cases sharp, and in all without appeal, it may be better suited to the simple habits and the state of education of the mass, than more elaborate processes, — for which they might find it

* I afterwards succeeded in obtaining a code of printed laws and edicts—whether only a sectional portion or the whole yet remains to be ascertained.

impossible to supply the proper instruments. Processes which, even in more advanced nations, are not without serious drawbacks, of interminable suits and ruinous litigation, — with no small admixture of doubt and uncertainty in the issue. But it is time we proceeded on our journey.

From ODAWARA to MISSIMA, the road lies through the mountain passes of HAKONI, which are situated near the summit of the range — a distance of about seven leagues, and of as rough mountain roads as can well be conceived. Many are but watercourses, filled with fragments of rocks for paving stones,—over which it was quite impossible to ride, even with the advantage of the straw shoes of the country. With our iron-shod horses these were found indispensable, and it was difficult work for the *Bettos* (grooms) to lead them safely across the boulders, even without the encumbrance of a rider; and several had falls with manifest danger to their knees. It is almost one continued ascent too, which renders it slow as well as laborious work to make much progress. But the scenery would amply repay any fatigue of body. There was much to remind a Swiss traveller of the Oberland in parts, especially the descent to Lauterbrunnen. High wooded hills, where the pine predominated, fresh green valleys, and a mountain-stream winding through the fields at the bottom. But it is less grand in its principal features. Here are no bare rocks and high-peaked mountains with their eternal glaciers and mantle of snow. Fewer cascades are to be seen leaping over the precipitous rocks in a sheer descent of a thousand feet. The Scheideck and Wetterhorn with bare walls towering to the sky, are wanting; nor is there any rival in all the mountain-range of Hakoni to the Jungfrau, with its soaring pinnacle and vast expanse of snow and glacier. The giant of the Bernese chain, it must be confessed, flings into the shade anything to be seen in Japan. But if its scenery may not compete with the Alps in sublimity, there is in lieu far greater variety and richness of

vegetation. Here, high up the mountain sides, forests of *Pinus densiflora*, mingle with the graceful foliage of the Bamboo and the Cryptomeria, which for the first time I saw in its glory as a timber tree. In our descent to the lake of Hakoni from the summit of the pass, we came upon a fine avenue of these; several measuring in girth, three feet from the ground, fourteen and sixteen feet, and standing upwards of 150 feet high. The wild hydrangea, with its large flower clusters—lilac, blue, and white, covered the banks side by side with the Scotch thistle. From the valleys to the highest summit, every hill and mountain presented one dense mass of luxuriant foliage, in trees and shrubs. The oak, the maple, the beech, the alder, and the chestnut, all were here, and in rich autumnal tints. The botanist returned laden with many new ferns, and other specimens of interest. The *Thujopsis Dolabrata* described by Thunberg, and of which the only specimen in England was, I believe, until lately in the gardens of Mr. Veitch, I looked for with great interest, but must confess I was disappointed in the effect of the tree. Thunberg was so enthusiastic in his admiration, that perhaps disappointment was inevitable. It is a noble tree of the pine species; and, with its silver lining, unlike in this and other respects any in Europe. But still it seemed scarcely calculated to throw any but a botanist escaping from a sea-girt prison, and the first discoverer, into ecstasies! I sent several specimens, in Ward's cases, to the Royal Gardens at Kew, and one, a variegated species, not before described, I believe. It was found by Mr. Veitch in the Monastery of *Omia*, at the foot of Fusiyama, and I immediately secured it,—for a consideration, from its proprietor, the Superior. On my return to Yeddo, however, I found many others of the same kind, which it seems had escaped my attention; and it has been observed that there is a great disposition in all the vegetation to become variegated. That I may not fatigue the reader, however, with a long enumeration of plants and mere botanical names, I have placed in the

Appendix some detailed notes, and a list of the most prevalent species observed throughout the expedition, which Mr. Veitch made out from day to day.

After a three hours' toilsome ascent, we reached YOMOTZ, a little hamlet buried in the mountains, and clustered round some hot saline springs. The common calamity of the country had befallen the villagers, and a fire had reduced the place to ashes. We found them busily engaged in building up the houses anew, and made a very short stay, as the clouds threatened rain, and we had still four hours' journey before us, even to reach the lake and village of Hakoni. And this was little more than half way to Missima, which lies in the plain beyond the pass,—and thither we were bound. A younger member of the party, however, had profited by the halt to plunge into one of the saline baths; and came out even more quickly than he rushed in, quite satisfied that a Japanese skin must be much more tolerant of heat than the Caucasian's, for he emerged as red as a lobster, and much as that martyr to gastronomy may be supposed to feel, before all feeling is boiled out of him.

There seemed to be several sources, with a saline taste, and the Japanese, who are a race of bathers, come from great distances to take baths. Indeed, the bath-house, as I have had occasion to remark, is an important institution in Japan; it is what the baths were to the Romans, and what the café is to a Frenchman—the grand lounge. Towards the close of the day, and the early hours after sunset, in passing along the streets of Yeddo on a summer's evening, at every hundred steps a bath-house is visible. You know their vicinity by the steam escaping through open doors and windows, and the hum of many voices, bass and tenor, in full chorus. And here all the gossip of the neighbourhood and town is no doubt ventilated. No one is so poor that he cannot secure a bath—no one so wretched that this luxury, at least, may not be his. Here, if they have any cares, they seem to forget them all, in the steamy atmosphere,—and

forming the very oddest assemblage that can well be conceived.

Japan is essentially a country of paradoxes and anomalies, where all — even familiar things — put on new faces, and are curiously reversed. Except that they do not walk on their heads instead of their feet, there are few things in which they do not seem, by some occult law, to have been impelled in a perfectly opposite direction and a reversed order. They write from top to bottom, from right to left, in perpendicular instead of horizontal lines; and their books begin where our's end, thus furnishing good examples of the curious perfection this rule of contraries has attained. Their locks, though imitated from Europe, are all made to lock by turning the key from left to right. The course of all sublunary things appears reversed. Their day is for the most part our night; and this principle of antagonism crops out in the most unexpected and *bizarre* way in all their moral being, customs; and habits. I leave to philosophers the explanation — I only speak to the facts. There old men fly kites while the children look on; the carpenter uses his plane by drawing it *to* him, and their tailors stitch *from* them; they mount their horses from the off-side — the horses stand in the stables with their heads where we place their tails, and the bells to their harness are always on the hind quarters instead of the front; ladies black their teeth instead of keeping them white, and their anti-crinoline tendencies are carried to the point of seriously interfering not only with grace of movement but with all locomotion, so tightly are the lower limbs, from the waist downwards, girt round with their garments; — and, finally, the utter confusion of sexes in the public bath-houses, making that correct, which we in the West deem so shocking and improper, I leave as I find it — a problem to solve.

But if this great institution of the bath be the source of the public opinion — said by the Ministers to exist, and so often invoked — it rises in dignity as the people's parliament or house of assembly (the only one, certainly, they

are permitted), and we may overlook some of its deficiencies of costume, and other eccentricities, — in the contemplation of its political and national uses. It certainly has a recommendation wanting in all other parliaments, of acknowledging to the fullest extent the rights of both sexes, and their equality. Not only is woman not excluded, as in more pretentious parliaments, but their voice is unquestionably heard! The gentler tenor often prevails over the deeper bass of the men; and the frequent laugh and shrill hilarity of the tone, heard from afar, ought to be a sufficient guarantee to the Government that no deep schemes of treason or sanguinary revolutions are ever discussed; at the same time that it affords a pleasant contrast in other respects to many debates in more solemn places. The sex is the State's protection, for, though one woman may plot a deed of vengeance, the history of the world does not furnish an instance of a *conspiracy of women*,—or of any mixed assembly of men and women, for the enactment of scenes of violence and political convulsion. Long experience, or a deep insight into human nature, may have given the jealous rulers of Japan full assurance of the fact,—and thus have supplied to the *vox populi* a free vent, as a sort of safety-valve, without any of its attendant dangers. Assuredly they would allow no such gatherings of men alone. If so, they have made a discovery by which Western States may hereafter profit,—with such modifications of drapery and costume as our more refined habits would dictate.

The rain began to descend in torrents as we left the baths of *Yomotz*, and before we reached the guarded barrier at the entrance of the pass we were all thoroughly drenched and tired. As there was a good *honjen* just outside the barrier, and picturesquely situated at the edge of the lake,—all thought of proceeding farther till the next day was given up; and Lieutenant Robinson set to work, to the infinite astonishment of some native attendants, to boil his thermometer — in other words, to ascertain the height of the lake above the sea, which he duly reported

to be 6,250 feet. The water boiled at a temperature of 198°, and the aneroid fell to 27·90. The lake itself is a fine sheet of water, surrounded by hills, and tradition says that it fills the extinct crater of a volcano. I was very sorry that no boat could be found to enable us to try and get soundings. A boat there was, but in a decayed and leaky condition, which would have required, moreover, a large crew, and not a man was forthcoming. We were assured there were no fishermen on the spot;—and we could only conclude it was a precaution to prevent the possibility of any one crossing to avoid the pass and its guard at each end. The hills, which come rather steeply down to the water's edge, are covered at the top with a coarse grass, and the highest in the immediate vicinity I should not estimate at more than 300 or 500 feet, so near the summit of the range is the level of the lake. I made a sketch on the spot, here reproduced, which tolerably faithfully shows the general features of the secluded spot.

The following morning the rain had passed away, and we took the road to Missima, in the plain, passing through the second barrier, where, as at the first—warned of our approach, no doubt, and the exemption from all search or detention claimed as due to Her Majesty's Envoy—the whole party were allowed to pass without question. Somewhat to our surprise we found an ascent of more than an hour before we reached the highest point beyond the pass, from whence a beautiful view was gained of the plain below, stretching away to the sea, and dotted over with towns and hamlets, chiefly on the banks of a winding stream, fringed with evergreens. The view down the mountain side to the valley and sea beyond, basking in sunshine, was most picturesque in effect. Evidences of agricultural wealth were broadcast. Not only the fields were covered with crops waving to the harvest, but many of the hills to the right and left were also cultivated in terraces nearly to the summit; and where neither rice nor maize could be grown, timber with luxuriant foliage, and of great variety, succeeded.

P. A. del.t

Hanhart lith.

THE LAKE OF HAKONI.

We halted just before we made our last descent, at one of the wayside sheds which are to be met with, at short distances along the main road, everywhere in Japan, I believe — certainly in that part of it along which we travelled. In these the poorest traveller, if he have but a few cash (integral parts of a farthing), may get a meal served with courtesy, which will keep him from exhaustion for many hours — a sweet potatoe, steaming hot, a fried fish, and a cup of tea. Or if he seeks lighter diet, any fruit that is in season;—a bunch of grapes or a slice of water-melon — red and luscious as it lies invitingly under the shade. If utterly destitute, without one cash — he may still have rest, a seat, and a cup of pure fresh water, though the latter has often to be brought from a great distance. Surely it says much for the people where such provision for the least wealthy and most needy classes is made, and, with scanty profit, is so kindly extended to all. It furnishes a strong argument, also, against the Government which seeks to convince the Foreign Representatives of the dearness of the commonest articles of consumption. They are dear only when Foreigners require them,—as I had occasion to know to my cost, during the whole of my residence in the country. We halted here, partly tempted by a large melon which turned its deep red honeycomb towards us, and partly to ascend a natural platform by the side, round which some seats were placed that the traveller might drink in refreshment by the eye, as well as by the lips. It overlooked the whole glorious plain, with the spurs of wooded hills projecting in wavy lines, as though still washed by the sea, where very evidently it had once been, fretting at their base. Here we ate — I should be afraid to say how many bountiful slices of the great melon, rendered more delicious by two hours' hard walking, with a hot sun over head. The road so far had offered little inducement to ride, it was so rough and steep, whether in ascent or descent. The silver itziboo (value about 1*s.* 6*d.*) which I gave in payment for what would not have been charged more than *a tempo* (a fifteenth of

that moderate sum), was given in the hope that it might make some amends for many smaller profits during the day. The exceeding cheapness of things whenever we happen, as in that case, to be out of reach of government officers and escort, and to get at the real price, does not tend to improve the temper under barefaced imposition. On descending the plain from whence they are brought at great labour, there was a demand for melons; and we were told, first, that there were none; and then that a single melon would cost the price for which sixteen could have been bought on the hill! This befell us at Missima, where we rested for the night. The people have many virtues, but a long experience has only brought to light, in the official class, in connection with foreigners, many *vices*; and that of plundering those unhappily committed to their charge is among the first, and, I fear, the most incorrigible. As for mendacity, one does not expect impossibilities or miracles of virtue, especially in the East; and truth is apparently one of the things only to be got at their hands, by torture or miracle. It is their business to conceal the truth from foreigners in all cases. They are given to romancing (not to use harsh words) by *vocation*, therefore, a sense of duty — and I am afraid it must be also said, taste and inveterate habit, all tend the same way. One often sighs involuntarily, with a weary feeling of utter hopelessness, when life or important interests may be at stake, while the exclamation rises to the lips — 'Oh! for a gleam, a single ray of truth,'—'a hap 'orth of *bread*, to this unconscionable quantity of *sack*.' Russell Lowel never can have been in Japan, or he would not have talked of—

> ——— the agony
> Of wearing all day long a lying face!

As certain physical characters of race are transmissible from generation to generation, and with them certain moral features — so with the Japanese this proclivity to lying, must have completely taken the place of any original constitution. And yet, withal, he has many traces

C. Wirgman, del.

Hanhart, lith.

THE VILLAGE BEAUTY.

of something higher and better in his nature. The same poet supplies a description much more apposite, and we might truly say,—

> He had been noble, but some great deceit
> Had turned his better instinct to a vice.

A chivalric disdain of life, and readiness to incur death in any shape rather than dishonour — the origin of the *Hara-kiru*, is a striking feature in their character. But it is evidently easier to them to make an incised wound into their stomach, than to speak the truth. If anyone is in danger of forgetting how precious a bond of society this is, he has only to come to Japan, and live where it is wholly unknown.

Missima is a large populous town, and the same dense mass of crowds greeted our entrance as at Odiawara, and every other considerable place. But the magic word in the mouth of the Daimios' officers never failed in effect; nor did the escort ever fail us either, for the party had attended us on foot the whole way over the mountains, and only left us the next day, after seeing us safely out of the town. So as we approached our next resting-place, *Yosiwara*, another of the 'Seigneurs,' in whose territory it lay, appeared to have been carefully apprised of our approach, and we found an escort a mile or two in advance waiting to conduct us to our quarters — and the same attention was received everywhere throughout the journey.*

From *Missima* we had passed through the towns of NOOMADS and HARRA, each about a league apart, and plainly to be seen from the heights of Hakoni. From thence to YOSIWARA, still on the plain, is about three leagues, and here we were to take our leave of the Tocado.

The route to Fusiyama here turns off, and leads by cross roads to OMIO and MOORIYAMA — two hamlets,

* An attention,— or a precaution to prevent straying from the Imperial highroad,—as, on my second and longer journey, I had occasion to convince myself.

which are situated at the foot of the mountain, where some important temples and monasteries are grouped. In the evening a deputation was announced from the Superior of the fraternity at Omio, sent to salute me, and convey a request that the temple might be my resting-place for the following night; with many flattering expressions, significant of the desire of their head to have so distinguished an honour as to entertain the Minister of Great Britain — no one of such rank, Foreigner or Japanese, having ever travelled to that region; — with much more to the same effect. Considering they had come a long day's journey on foot, through mud and rain, to offer me such hospitality, the least I could do was to assure them I would not fail, either in going or returning, to show the attention was appreciated — by taking up my quarters with them. Not, I confess, without some misgiving lest I should be laying myself open to the reproach of ignorance in the 'rites and ceremonies' of well-bred natives — so humorously related by the Abbé Huc in his travels in China. A country-cousin coming unexpectedly from a great distance was invited to dine, and after waiting some hours and seeing no signs of the meal, he suggested it was getting late, when his relation and host burst into a torrent of abuse. 'What, are you so ignorant and so rustic, as not to know that it was my duty to ask you, but, by the same rites and ceremonies, you were bound to refuse?' The three shaven bonzes, with sandalled feet, but two swords in their belts, were with difficulty induced to raise their heads and bodies — to something like an upright posture, and take their leave.

It had rained heavily nearly all day, and most of the party, enveloped in extemporised *ponchos* and leggings, manufactured of the oil-paper cloaks of the country, and some with the still more common straw coats of the peasants, — it is to be feared, presented rather an incongruous appearance as they traversed the town, preceded by an escort of Daimios' officers, and paced slowly through

its interminably long streets. But for the weather the road would have been very enjoyable. It was one continued avenue bordered by cryptomeriæ — the cedar of Japan as it has been not very correctly styled, for it is not a cedar. A loud roar of breakers reached the ear, softened by its passage through a narrow belt of pines, which drew scanty nourishment from the sand dunes that separated us from the edge of the bay. Being as wet as it was possible to be, instead of halting as intended for a midday meal and rest at Hara, we pushed on,—to the utter confusion and disgust of cooks, yaconins, and all the host of followers;—who never counting upon the possibility of a change in the order of march, had already got in, and begun to make themselves comfortable. I have no doubt comparisons, by no means to our advantage, were drawn between us, with our independent and erratic proceedings, and a Japanese Magnate, whose progress never exceeds two or three miles an hour; and who otherwise is quite above sudden changes — and a three leagues' ride through the pelting rain! We had not long been safely housed in Yosiwara, when signs of a coming tempest were evident, and about ten o'clock at night a furious gale set in with torrents of rain, and soon showed by its veering round the compass, that a typhoon was sweeping its fatal circles along the coast. We all thought of the 'Camilla' and her gallant crew — one of H.M.'s ships, which, to all calculation, ought even then to be near Atami, at the entrance of the bay of Yeddo, — where the commander; Captain Colville, was to call, on his way from Hakodadi.

A sad foreboding came upon more than one of the party, only too truly verified in the sequel. The 'Camilla' left Hakodadi September 2, with one of the Government interpreters and a British merchant, as passengers on board,—and neither ship, commander, nor crew, have ever been heard of since. Either in the storm of the 2nd, or in this of the 9th, she must have gone down with 130 men, in the pride of their strength.

Here we remained at the foot of Fusiyama, as seen in

the sketch, and the next morning was still sufficiently boisterous to deter us from an early start. The aneroid had fallen to 29·50. But about two o'clock in the afternoon, the baggage having been dispatched, we started for OMIO, the nearest of the temple monasteries — paid a short visit of ceremony and thanks, and passed on to *Mouriyama*, the last inhabited place on our way. Great preparations had been made for the party, and extra bath and stable accommodation run up. The inner sanctum of the temple itself, with its altars, had been divided into two and screened off, to give the Minister a separate room, and the chief priest himself was so profoundly impressed with the dignity of his guests, that we began to wonder whether he would ever be induced to stand up on his feet again! A hot tub and a cold *douche* after it, soon refreshed us all. I say a tub, for such it is, and I began to admire the economy of space and other advantages it possesses over the long slipper-bath. About four feet deep, oval in shape, and just long enough to let an adult sit down with his knees very close to his chest, as is the Japanese habitual mode,—less water is required to warm the whole body, and less space for the bath. In many, a copper tube is fixed in at the end, with a grating at the bottom, into which a handful of charcoal is thrown, and in an hour a hot bath is ready. Some such appliance as this would be a great comfort, and in sickness a blessing, in many an English home,—when to get a hot bath in a sick room is a work for the whole household! A section of one of these baths was sent to the Geographical Society to show how simple and easy the system is. In Italy a double copper cylinder, removable at pleasure, is used instead, and by either process great facilities may be gained in the most economical way. The Japanese, indeed, have a perfect genius for attaining the most useful ends with the smallest expenditure of material, and by the simplest means —no small merit! For instance, at the various *honjens* where we stopped for the night, we should have been devoured by the mosquitoes had the landlords not come to our

R. A. del.

Hanhart, lith.

VIEW OF FUSIYAMA FROM YOSIWARA

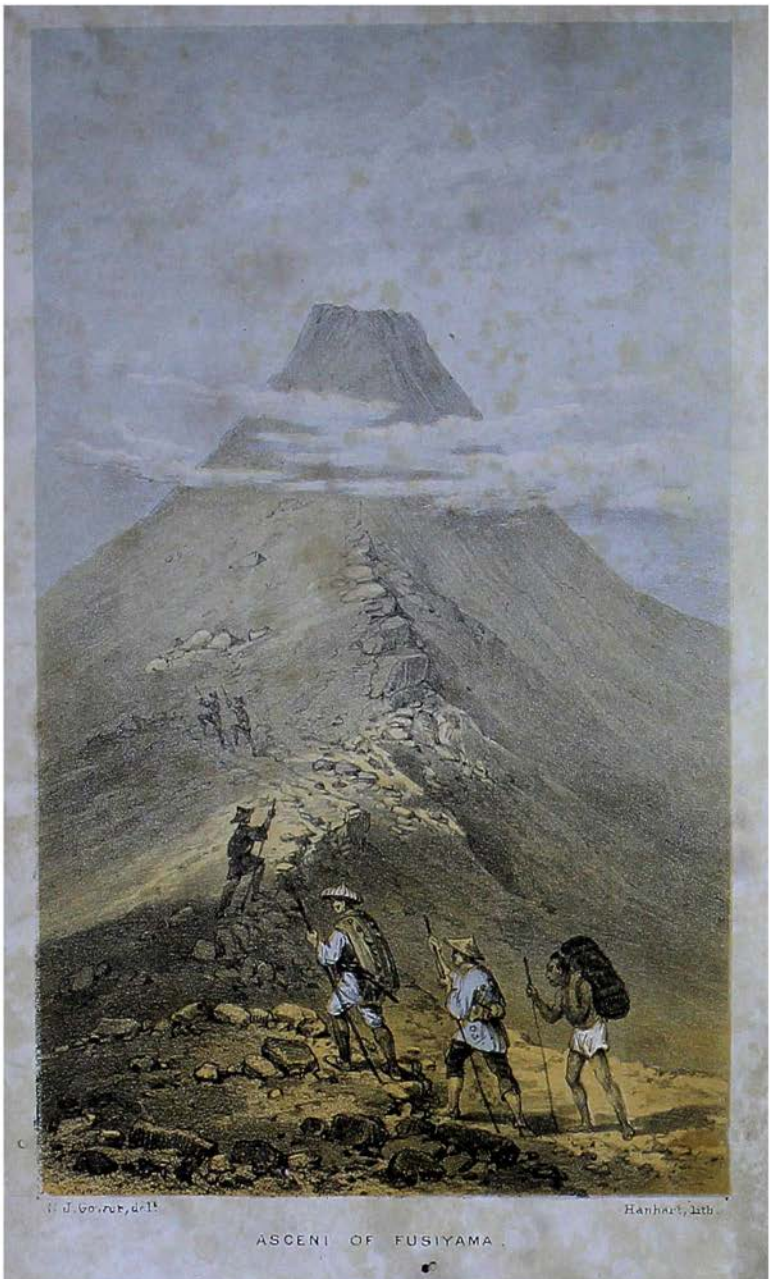
rescue by the simplest of all contrivances;—a mosquito curtain, open at the bottom, made up in the shape of a parallelogram is let down over the mat (6 feet by 3) selected by the sleeper; a cord is run from each of the four upper corners (into which a sort of eyelet hole has been worked) and four nails driven in, enable a servant to suspend it. Beneath this the persecuted martyr creeps, tucking the sides and ends under his cotton quilt or mattress, and he may then sleep undisturbed, by anything *that flies*. So our hospitable Superior had evidently tried his ingenuity to invent impromptu seats for Europeans, who cannot sit upon their heels like other men, or even squat on the mats with their legs tucked under them;—and it was amusing to see by what simple means he had succeeded. Half a dozen small tubs — a plank nailed over each, and over that a cotton quilt doubled into a cushion—materials at hand and in daily use,—and we were all seated like Christians at a minimum of cost to our host. Unluckily the table only reached our knees when thus elevated; but nobody can be equal to so many new exigencies in travellers! So we lowered our bodies to the mats and used the stools for our elbows, imitating the Roman habit of eating reclining,—and managed to eat and drink, too, without difficulty.

The next morning, anxious inquiries were made very early as to the weather; and the announcement that it was fine, and the ascent practicable, roused the whole party soon after daybreak. The horses were promptly saddled for the last stage up the lower slopes. Three martial-looking priests, '*yoboos*,' were told off for our guides, and a few strong *yamabooshe*, 'men of the mountain,' took our railway-rugs and a few stores, in the shape of coffee, rice, and biscuit, wherewith to sustain us during the two days and nights to be occupied in the ascent and return.

At first, our way lay through waving fields of corn, succeeded by a belt of high rank grass; but soon we entered the mazes of the wood, which clings round the

base and creeps high up the sides of the mountain, clothing the shoulders of the towering peak like the shaggy mane of a lion, with increased majesty. At first we found trees of large growth—goodly trunks of the oak, the pine, and the beech—and came upon many traces of the fury with which the typhoon had swept across. Large trees had been broken short off, and others uprooted. One of these broken off had been thrown right across our path, and compelled us either to scramble over or creep under its massive trunk. At *Hakimondo* we left the horses, and the last trace of permanent habitation or the haunts of men. Soon after the wood became thinner and more stunted in growth, while the beech and birch took the place of the oak and pine. Just before we entered the forest-ground, a lark rose on the wing—the first I had ever seen or heard in Japan. Before we left the belt of wood, we heard many stories of the wild animals to which it gave shelter. Surprised at the number, an appeal was made to the Japanese officer attached to us as interpreter: 'Oh! certainly, quite true; only there are *millions*.' And nothing could shake his testimony; but this is not the first time we have observed the absence of all definite notions of number beyond a few hundreds. I am satisfied, when the Ministers were told we had exacted eight million taels of silver from the Chinese, that they merely knew we intended to convey the idea of having demanded a very heavy sum!

Whatever may be the *ferœ naturœ* in this region, there is no doubt a large area of jungle and forest to give cover. At *Atami*, later, we saw frequent traces of the boar; deer must be plentiful also, since even to a foreigner the price of a large stag does not exceed twenty-five shillings at Yokohama. We soon lost all traces of life, however, vegetable or animal. A solitary sparrow or two—the most universal of all birds it would seem—alone flitted occasionally across our path. In the winding ascent over the rubble and scoriæ of the mountain—which alone



ASCENT OF FUSIYAMA.

is seen after ascending about half way—little huts or caves, as these resting-places are called, partly dug out and roofed over to give refuge to the pilgrims, appeared. There are, I think, eleven from *Hakimondo* to the summit, and they are generally about a couple of miles asunder. In one of these we took up our quarters for the night, and laid down our rugs, too tired to be very delicate. Nevertheless, the cold and the *occupants* we found former pilgrims had left, precluded much sleep. Daylight was rather a relief; and after a cup of hot coffee and a biscuit, we commenced the upper half of the ascent. The first part, after we left the horses, had occupied about four hours' steady work, and we reached our sleeping-station a little before sunset, lava and scoriæ everywhere around. The clouds were sailing far below our feet, and a vast panorama of hill and plain, bounded by the sea, stretched far away. We looked down upon the summits of the Hakoni range, being evidently far above their level, and we could distinctly see the lake lying in one of the hollows. The last half of the ascent is by far the most arduous, growing more steep as each station is passed. The first rays of the sun just touched, with a line of light, the broad waters of the Pacific as they wash the coast, when we made our start. The first station seemed very near, and was reached within the hour; but each step now became more difficult. The path, if such the zig-zag may be called which our guides took, often led directly over fragments of out-jutting rocks, while the loose scoriæ prevented firm footing, and added much to the fatigue. The air became more rarefied and perceptibly affected the breathing. At last the third station was passed, and a strong effort carried us to the fourth—the whole party by this time straggling at long intervals. This was now the last between us and the summit. It did not seem so far, until a few figures on the edge of the crater furnished a means of measurement, and they looked painfully diminutive. The last stage, more rough and precipitous than all the preceding, had this farther

disadvantage, that it came after the fatigue of all the others. More than an hour's toil, with frequent stoppages for breath and rest to aching legs and spine, were needed; and more than one of our number felt very near the end of their strength before the last step placed the happy pilgrim on the topmost stone, and enabled him to look down the yawning crater. This is a great oval opening, with jagged lips, estimated by Lieut. Robinson, with such means of measurement as he could command, at about 1,100 yards in length, with a mean width of 600, and is probably about 350 in depth. Looking down on the other side, which had a northern aspect, there seemed a total absence of vegetation, even on the lower levels, and the rich country we had left was completely hid by a canopy of clouds drifting far below. Water boiled at 184° of Fahr. The estimated height of the edge of the crater, above the level of the sea, was 13,977 feet; and the highest peak, 14,177. At our resting-place, on the top of Fusiyama, the latitude was calculated 35° 21′ N.; longitude 138° 42′ E. Variation of compass at ditto 3° 2′ W. Temperature of air in sun at noon 54° Fahr.

The Japanese, who perform this pilgrimage from religious motives, are generally dressed in white garments, which they are careful to have stamped with various mystic characters and idols' images by the bonzes located there during the season for that purpose. And on the sleeves of many of the pilgrims scallop-shells appear—a strange coincidence which I have never been able to explain. The origin of the pilgrimage is traced back to an ancient date, when a holy man, the founder of the Sintoo religion (apparently the oldest in Japan) took up his residence in this mountain; and, since his death, his spirit is still held to have influence to bestow health and various other blessings on those who made the pilgrimage in honour of his memory.

The volcano has long been extinct; the latest eruption recorded was in 1707. The tradition is that the mountain

itself appeared in a single night from the bowels of the earth, a lake of equal dimensions making its appearance near MIAKO at the same hour. The time actually spent

PILGRIMS ON THE ROAD

in climbing up to the summit was about eight hours, but the descent occupied little more than three. We slept two nights on the mountain, and had greatly to congratulate ourselves on the weather, having fallen upon the only two fine days out of six that were not bad, and escaped the typhoon while safely housed at the foot. As we descended on the last morning there was a thick Scotch mist, which soon changed into a drenching rain. We only found patches of snow here and there near the summit, but on our return to Yeddo, three weeks later, we saw it completely covered.

We had thus succeeded in visiting the 'matchless' mountain in the only interval of fine weather,—before the setting in of winter would have made it impossible. The prediction of the Ministers, that we were too late, was thus very near indeed being verified; but, like many other prophets of evil, they did much themselves to make it

come to pass. From Kanagawa I heard that, when they were visited by the typhoon there, the report was circulated that it was a sign of the anger of the gods at the foreigner profaning the sacred precincts of their stormy home. But I am by no means certain this was not of foreign invention, for neither during the journey thither, nor among the bonzes at the temples there, did we perceive the slightest indication of jealousy, or a disposition to consider the visit as an intrusion on our part, and a desecration. Nor do I believe any feeling of this kind existed among the Japanese. So in like manner some one told Admiral Hope that, in consequence of the British Minister travelling along the Tocado, the Tycoon was precluded using it to pay a visit to the Mikado, as it would require to be broken up after such a desecration and remade. I made some enquiries on the subject among the Japanese, and all denied any knowledge of law, custom, or tradition which could afford foundation for such a report; and on Moriyama's coming to England with me, I satisfied myself it was purely an invention of foreign origin, and somewhat too readily credited and embodied in the despatches of the Admiral.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SULPHUR SPRINGS OF ATAMI — VILLAGE LIFE IN JAPAN — PAPER MANUFACTORY — THE MOXA.

WE left our hospitable quarters at Omio on the morning of the 13th September. The rain that pursued us down the lower slopes of Fusiyama still continued, but I determined to push forward; and, accordingly, about nine o'clock we mounted our horses, and, passing through Yosiwara, arrived at Harra for a noonday meal, fortunate in having had only a few passing showers to encounter.

We left Harra again for Missima at 5 P.M., and had a beautiful ride along a sanded avenue, through Noomads, and by the banks of a fine river, running strong and fast between steep banks. We were met by two detachments in succession of Daimios' officers, and accompanied by them a considerable distance. As we passed the entrance to each of the residences, an officer sat in state at the gate, as the representative of his lord, surrounded by numerous attendants, with whom a salutation of courtesy was exchanged. Thus honoured with escorts and yaconins, we pursued our way through the avenues of pines and cryptomerias, and the smoothest of roads—little dreaming that anything else was in store for us. We had, however, hardly taken leave of our last escort—the two Japanese officers of my own party, always sent in front to prepare quarters, being an hour in advance; and the rest, with all our servants, far behind—when, at a turn of the road, we came suddenly on the broad river so lately admired as it ran between deep banks nearly parallel with the road, but which now lay across our

path, swelled with the rains and overflowing its banks. The bridge we had crossed in coming, only appeared somewhere about the middle of the heavy stream, which poured its waters tumultuously over all obstacles. Night was coming on,—swiftly, too, as is its wont here, and only a single groom and his 'help' were on the spot, of all our people. A few noisy villagers were there, but showed no sort of desire to assist us in the dilemma, and were, besides, not very intelligible. I could not help being struck, and half-amused with the sudden contrast. But half-an-hour before escorted with every mark of honour and respect,—and now almost alone on the banks of a river rushing wildly and menacingly across our path, —with a fair chance of being swept into its boiling eddies and drowned, one and all of us, like stray cattle, in the attempt to make our way across. Instant decision was necessary. That, indeed, was the only thing quite clear—either we must go back, with the risk of the mischief increasing and being detained two or three days, —or else face the danger, whatever it might be, and make good our passage. One of the grooms tried to lead a horse across, and having finally succeeded, with the help of a native who knew the locality—not without some difficulty and risk to both—I got rid of my heavy accoutrements and cloak—and tried my fate. It was rather nervous work—already dark, the waters increasing each moment and rushing past with great velocity, everything depended on the footing,—which, of course, could not be seen. The bridge, however, was gained by all with safety, and the whole party 'quitte pour la peur,' and a partial ducking, were enabled to mount their horses on the other side. But it was now pitch dark, and one of the steeds seemed perversely bent on plunging back into the river, out of which he certainly would never have made his way again alive. After groping our way up an abrupt ascent, and over some rough road for a short time, we were finally met by a party of the Municipal authorities of Missima, who came with lanterns

and jingling staves to escort us in, now that it was ascertained we had not been drowned in fording the river! The accident caused no small detention to the baggage, so that it was late before we settled down, got dry things and something to eat in our old quarters, which we were not sorry to regain. After the meal had been despatched, and we were all grouped about, talking over the adventure in its various incidents, serious and comic, one of the party happened to raise his eyes to the ledge just above his head, and, within a few inches of him, saw the head of a fine snake, the body curled into a sort of a lover's knot. The proximity was too close to be pleasant, notwithstanding the general harmlessness ascribed to the snake species in Japan as in China, and there was an immediate demand for some weapon; at last a whip was produced; but he had already begun to make his exit through the bars of a grated opening into the balcony, and with only some damage to his tail, he made good his escape. This closed our day's adventures, and soon everybody was stretched on the mats, under their mosquito curtains, and fast asleep.

The next day, Sept. 14, we mounted early, with beautiful weather, and took our way across the mountainous peninsula which separates Missima from the sea-coast. We first crossed a broad valley, beautifully diversified with clumps of trees, hedgerows, and winding rivulets. Nothing could be richer than the soil, or the teeming variety of its produce. The whole plain was surrounded by an amphitheatre of cultivated hills, and beyond were mountains stretching higher and farther, with a shaggy mantle of scrub and pine. Little snug-looking hamlets and homesteads were nestled among the trees or under the hills, and here and there the park walls, and glimpses of the avenues leading to Daimios' country residences appeared. Much has been heard of the despotic sway of these feudal lords, and the oppression under which all the labouring classes toil and groan; but it is impossible to traverse these well-cultivated valleys, and mark the

happy, contented, and well-to-do-looking populations which have their home amidst so much plenty, and believe we see a land entirely tyrant-ridden, and impoverished by exactions. On the contrary, the impression is irresistibly borne in upon the mind, that Europe cannot show a happier or better-fed peasantry, or a climate and soil so genial or bounteous in their gifts. The richest proprietor in this district of Idzoo, was the same who furnished our first guard of honour through his domains — *Agama Farozayamony*, by name, and he is not a Daimio. We were told that he had refused to be ennobled, that he might escape the penance of a yearly visit and residence at Yeddo, with other burdens. One could not but approve his taste; and as I passed the gates that led up to his house between a double row of noble pine trees, I thought he might easily find much in his country life to compensate him for the barren honours and burdensome dignities which the Tycoon has in his gift,— and figured to myself an existence not unlike that of a wealthy landowner in England, whose pleasure it is to spend his days on his own estates and among his tenants. The variety of the produce through the breadth of the valley was great. Interspersed among fields of waving rice ripening to the harvest, were many plots of tobacco and cotton—the brinjall, or egg fruit, excellent in curries—the succulent aram with its lotus-like leaf, and the sweet potatoe,—all were here; while the persimmon with its rich red fruit, and the orange trees with their golden produce, were grouped round the different hamlets and villages. As we passed out of the valley into an opening winding far among the hills, we came upon a little village half hid by a mass of fine cryptomerias rising a hundred feet or more in a straight stem. One of these we measured, and found it to be exactly 16 feet 3 inches in girth. Penetrating farther up the gorge, the banks were bright with the wild pink hydrangeas; and as we ascended higher and higher, the harebell with its graceful flower appeared everywhere. When we gained the higher ridges, the views each step

disclosed, looking backwards across the valley and towards the sea, were indescribably picturesque, and sometimes grand in their framework of wooded hills and terraced mountains. In the heart of the mountain regions we came upon a pretty secluded village of about a hundred houses, and were met at the entrance by the *Otono*, or mayor, and his staff, by whom we were courteously entreated to dismount and rest. I did not feel disposed to stop, but Mr. Eusden, the secretary, was behind, and, as I had anticipated, he gladdened the official by resting and partaking of his refreshment. In passing through these mountain districts we occasionally came upon groups of peasantry, evidently collected from all the surrounding hamlets, for the purpose of seeing the strangers—perhaps the greatest novelty of their lives. There they sat on some knoll or small hillock by the roadside, or kneeling on their mats, waiting patiently the uncertain hour of our arrival. I hope so much perseverance did not go without its reward, in the gratification they experienced. There is always some pleasure in accomplishing an object for which we have made either effort or sacrifice — even if the object prove, on better knowledge, little worth the trouble taken. It is well it should be so, for we make so many false estimates of value, and bad calculations as to the final cost, as well as the true worth of mundane things, that, but for this redeeming condition, there would be a serious increase to the pains and penalties of a life's errors.

The descent was rather trying to the horses, and in parts very steep — but for several miles the worst places had evidently been quite recently put under repair, and apparently for us, since this is not a route any Japanese of rank was very likely to travel. About noon we came in sight of the little town of *Atami*, lying in a narrow gorge close to the shore, and from the centre of the houses, in two or three places, we saw a great jet of steam from the mineral springs. About half a mile off the officials of the place met us to form our escort, and

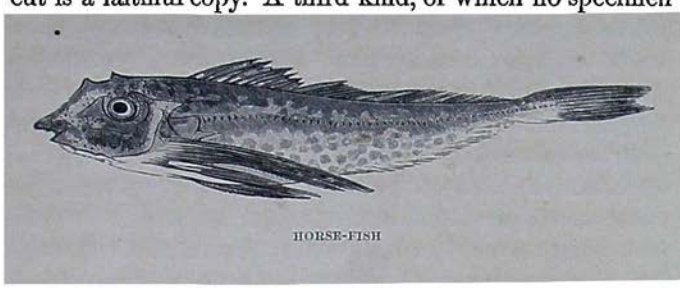
about noon we were ushered into the principal bathing establishment, generally reserved for Daimios and their families; and were agreeably surprised to find it far superior in accommodation to anything we had ventured to anticipate. Not only was there a range of half a dozen roomy baths filled direct from the source, steaming and boiling within the courtyard of the house, but a suite of apartments of good size opened on to a perfect specimen of a Japanese garden; and a broad flight of steps to the right led to a couple of rooms on a first floor, with a balcony commanding a beautiful view of the sea. In these I began immediately to install myself. A low table formed a bedstead for my air bed. My mosquito curtain was stretched over it, and in a few hours another of the same tables, with legs two feet higher, was knocked up. One of Brown's portable easy chairs, which are heartily to be commended and recommended,—a small folding table, and two or three camp-stools, with the aid of a few nails for caps, glass, travelling-sack, &c., soon surrounded me with all a traveller's luxuries and belongings; and gave an air of comfort to the two little matted rooms, twelve feet square. Both were provided with closets, sliding doors, and shelves, making admirable wardrobes. And here I set up my flag, determined to try the sanitary effects of rest, sea air,—and the mineral springs of Atami.

The life we led in this secluded watering-place was one of little variety—the arrival of a courier, and the death of a favourite Scotch terrier, my constant and faithful companion, were the only events. One must have led the isolated life of a Foreign Minister in Japan, to realise the blank which the loss even of an attached dog creates. So much of disinterested affection and trust had passed out of the world,—and more of companionship than those who have never been much alone, can well understand perhaps! Some of the best traits of the Japanese character came out very favourably on this occasion; 'Toby' had many good friends among my servants. My head betto, as soon as he heard of the death, came himself to put him

in his basket-shroud and under the sod. I asked the proprietor's leave to bury him in his pretty garden under the shade of a tree, and he instantly came himself and helped to dig the grave. A group of assistants of all ranks gathered round with mournful faces, as though one of their own kind had passed away. He was folded up in a mat, some of the beans he was so fond of were put in the grave with him, and a branch of evergreens inserted at the head, which was scrupulously laid to the north. The priest of the temple brought water and incense sticks to burn, and then a rough tombstone to mark the spot, was laid on his grave. They are really a kindly people when not perverted by their rulers, and *prompted* to hostility. When I proposed to send a tablet, my host was equally ready, and assured me it should be carefully placed over the head. I had begun to forget I was in Japan, so much good will was shown, and so few difficulties made even to the gratification of a whim. But in one sense I reckoned without my true hosts — the Government officials. I cannot stop to tell how much trouble the luckless tablet entailed upon me, before it actually reached its destination. How it was pretended that the town-governor of Yeddo must first give his permission ; and that, according to the law of Japan, no stone could be placed anywhere without official sanction ! Nor after it was up (which I only effected by taking advantage of one of our ships passing the port, and landing it on the spot) what grave remonstrances followed from the Ministers because one of the Legation had visited Atami 'against the treaty.' Well might I write on his tombstone 'Poor Toby,' for it had been hard work to preserve him where he died, from total oblivion.

The Spas of Atami are not gay as a place of residence. Beyond the interest attaching to the study of village life in Japan, there is nothing whatever to amuse or give occupation. It has an agricultural and fishing population of some 1,400 souls. They cultivate their fields of rice and millet and a few vegetables. The bay provides them

with fish—chiefly, at this season, mackerel, and a sort of pomfret, with lobster and *awabee* (a large species of mussel with a shell coated with mother-of-pearl). Some of our party occasionally went out fishing and brought back very curious specimens of the finny species; one, a flat fish, about the size of the hand, had long thread-like prolongations from the tail and fins, something like the tentacula of insects, but several inches in length. Another, and smaller fish, was hard as bone all over, with a thick gibbous head, which they call the 'horse-fish.' Of this I found a good Japanese drawing, and the following woodcut is a faithful copy. A third kind, of which no specimen



HORSE-FISH

was preserved, the fishermen believe to be poisonous, and always throw overboard again as soon as they catch it. There are a few shops in the place for the sale of some of the more common necessaries, the few things which are alone required in their very simple mode of life. The only manufacture is that of paper, and the making of boxes of many devices, cups, platters, trays, and a few toys for Yeddo and other markets—made either of the variegated wood, of the camphor, or pine, which these hills supply. These are very cleverly turned and neatly put together, with the simplest and rudest instruments. Their only lathe is a horizontal spindle, turned by a boy with two straps, holding one in each hand, which he pulls alternately. To one end of the shaft the object of manufacture is fixed for the other workman, and they give the last polish to the varnish by the fingers with a little whiting. The women, with a primitive loom, may also be seen

here and there in the cottages weaving cotton. The mineral springs are spread over a considerable space, bubbling up in divers places over the spot where a source exists. Near several of these, and in connection with the source, a few stones are placed so as to allow the steam to escape, and here they boil their tea and cook their vegetables without expenditure of fuel. There are wooden baths at all the places, but they did not seem in very constant requisition. The waters appeared to be all the same — saline, with a *soupçon* only of sulphur. They are very slightly aperient, and are held among the natives to be good for rheumatism, diseases of skin, and bad eyes. But before my arrival they never drank the waters, or turned the steam to account for vapour-baths. At the large vent of the springs, which boils up with a loud explosion of steam some six or eight times in the twenty-four hours, I had a little hut built, which made an excellent vapour-bath; and the yaconins, following my example, began to drink the waters.

We had at first a continuance of rain and wind, but later our weather was very propitious — bright, clear, and pleasantly warm. The maximum range of the thermometer was 80° of Fahrenheit.

The first fine breezy day, with gathering clouds and fitful sunshine, giving picturesque and ever-changing effects to sea and mountain, we went three or four miles in the direction of *Odawara*, across the mountain, where a number of hot springs also exist, but all tasteless. Two of them come down, or are let down over the cliff so as to make a *douche*, under one of which we found an old woman — and under the other something much rarer in Japan than old women taking their bath — a *mare*. It had a bad sore on its back which they were bathing with the hot water. The way to these springs leads through a ravine, down which, overhung with shrubs, evergreens all, and wild hydrangeas in flower, a mountain stream rushes in cascades, making pleasant music. Scattered along the side of the mountain road are a few

peasants' homes, and here and there a temple, or a wayside shrine; while the vegetation speaks of a genial clime, where nature

> Hangs in shade the orange bright,
> Like lamps of gold in a green night,
> And throws the melons at our feet —

as Andrew Marvel writes of

> The remote Bermudas rich
> In ocean's bosom unespied—

Shakespeare's 'still vexed Bermoothes;'— and the rough swell of the Pacific setting on the pebbly and rocky shore, keeps up the similitude. The coast in other respects, with its bold picturesque features, resembles very much the Biscayan coast from San Sebastian and Bilboa to Santander. Nor is the climate very different, only less severe in winter. Even the highest crest of Fusiyama scarce preserves a remnant of its snow shroud, through the months of July and August. From the vicinity of these mineral springs, nitre, in considerable quantities and purity, appears to be collected for export, and I saw some being brought in as I returned.

I tried in vain to get some more precise information about the land tenure here,— the Government administration, and the amount of taxation. Unfortunately, most of our enquiries had to go through *Matabé*, the official interpreter, of whom it may truly be said, as of Sydney Smith's Scotchman, that it required a trephining operation to get a new idea into his head,— and something much more severe, to get a rational or trustworthy answer *out* of it. He either was, or affected to be, profoundly ignorant of his own country, its statistics and administration,— though with some smattering knowledge of foreign countries. At the same time he had a bold fashion of giving off-hand any answer that promised to rid him of farther enquiry, without the slightest regard to the facts! Furthermore, he deluded himself by fancying he *knew* things, upon the vaguest possible conception of their true meaning—some-

times with none at all. On one occasion, Mr. Eusden reproaching him with the many false alarms and statements made respecting the route, and the difficulties of the ascent of Fusiyama, asked him if he had ever heard of the fable of the wolf and the shepherd boy. 'Yes, he thought he had!' 'Did he know what a fable meant?' 'Oh! yes; a legend or tradition of something supposed to have happened long ago, which sometimes was true and sometimes was false.'

Not a promising informant this; and when I put him on the rack, as the juniors used to call it,—and insisted on his giving an explanation of things observed in Japan, which should be both credible and intelligible, he would screw his head on one side, and look very like a man going to choke under some strangling process. One is thus reduced to draw, somewhat at hazard, conclusions from what can be observed of the people, and for the most part only of what lies on the surface. Upon what tenure these lands are held, (said to belong to, or to be administered by, the proprietor of Idzoo—the courteous Agawa Farozayamang,) I could make nothing out—whether for himself as Lord of the Manor, or steward of the Tycoon, it seemed impossible to ascertain. There appeared to be some resident officer there, acting in his name. Several of the shopkeepers were yaconins, as also was the proprietor of the hotel and bathing-house. There *may* be a good deal of tyranny and oppression, but the people show no marks of it, any more than of grinding exactions and abject poverty; though of course a small fishing village is not a place where people are otherwise than poor.

Seeing there are no representative institutions, no free press—no freedom of any kind—in the forms inseparably associated in an Englishman's mind with liberty,—it may be necessary to guard against a bias, and a leaning to *à priori* conclusions,—adverse alike to the Government in its absolute and despotic character, and the people governed. There is perhaps no more certain truth than

that which is conveyed in the axiom, that laws and actions must have a certain adaptation to the existing character of the people to be governed; and that we must judge of any code, by estimating the amount of good or evil that has been found to result. If the average for the time being, of good, will bear comparison with that observable in other countries, and in other stages of civilisation, although a different code or form of government and institutions may exist; our right to condemn the latter must, to say the least, be very questionable, however they may depart from our own standard of ethics and good government.

Here in outward form we have feudalism, without its chivalry, reproduced — a Venetian oligarchy of nobles, reducing even the duplicated sovereign power to a shadowy existence, in which the feudal lord is everything, and the lower and labouring classes nothing. Yet what do we see? Peace, plenty, apparent content, and a country more perfectly and carefully cultivated and kept, with more ornamental timber everywhere, than can be matched even in England. The laws, so far as we know, are somewhat Draconian in their severity, and administered unflinchingly by the very simplest and most direct processes, without the aid of lawyers. As the traveller passes along the road, at the entrance of a bourg or hamlet his eye will often be attracted by a long board, roofed over to protect it from the weather, but open at the sides; on which are written imperial decrees it behoves all the Tycoon's subjects to know and obey. They have at least the merit of being few and short, and most of them seem half effaced by time, as already superfluous! Perhaps, after all, the Draconian penal code and absence of legal technicalities, may be not only a natural product of less advanced stages of civilisation, and a needful restraint on individual freedom of action; — but also it may be that, as I have suggested, a more seemingly equitable and humane, as well as a more elaborately constituted code, could not be carried out for want of fit administrative machinery. The

institutions may be as good as the average character of the people and their civilisation will permit,— and if so, the best and fittest for the existing time, however remote from an absolutely just penal system, or an abstractedly perfect theory of government. Less stringent institutions might only entail social confusion, and the worse evils inseparable from it. Anarchy brings far more suffering on the masses, and it may be more demoralisation, than a despotism *fitted to avert this*, and therefore, in that sense at least, justified by the circumstances. It may be the *least wrong* in view of the total of suffering; and if so, cannot be far from being *relatively right*, for the time and the people; and worthy of approbation rather than sweeping condemnation. At all events, be the connection of cause and effect what it may, taking the despotic and oligarchic constitution of these realms, with its rude and sharp administration of justice,—which admits neither public pleading, appeal, nor extenuations,— but takes a man's head off as certainly for a theft as a murder; and on the other hand, the material prosperity of a population, estimated at thirty millions, which has made a garden of Eden of this volcanic soil, and has grown in numbers and in wealth by unaided native industry, shut out from all intercourse with the rest of the world;—it is impossible to pass any sweeping condemnation either on them or the institutions under which they live, and where such results are possible. Without wishing to make any apology for despotism or the Japanese Government either, I give the reflections which naturally suggest themselves to the European traveller.

I remained in this isolated region — wilderness within a wilderness (for such all Japan is to the foreigner yet), nearly three weeks. But even our yaconins became weary of the contracted circle of our gyrations; and, to say the truth, there was no one of the party, I believe, who did not look forward with pleasure to the day of departure. The villagers soon got accustomed to us, and were as quiet and inoffensive a population as heart could

desire; but we had exhausted all the shops,—and all the amusement that could be extracted out of the operation of bargaining with their puzzle-headed owners. The men especially, all over Japan, seem to be wretched accountants,—far inferior in this to the Chinese, who are a match for the best European 'experts.' The women, strange to say, are much better than their lords at figures; and when it came to a question of addition or multiplication,—we always had recourse to the more ready wit of the wife.

I must not take leave of Atami without a few words on its principal manufacture—Paper; nor could I have had a better opportunity of observing all the processes, since our landlord had an establishment attached to the house where paper was made; and, wonderful to relate, he was quite ready and willing to give me such information as was in his power.

Nearly all paper in Japan is made from the bark of trees, and in some qualities it is superior to any in Europe, more especially as regards toughness. Even the finer kinds can only be torn with difficulty, and the stronger qualities defy every effort. Indeed, it supplies the place of linen and cambric, being used for handkerchiefs and other domestic purposes where we should use cloth or rags. They are not unacquainted with the process of manufacturing paper from cotton rags—indeed, I believe they would make paper out of old shoes—but the former are little used, because *the bark is preferred.* Some of the more enterprising pioneers of foreign trade endeavoured to turn this fact to account, and began to buy up all the old rags, which, as may be supposed, were cheap enough in a country where cotton is universally worn, and the rags were regarded as rubbish. The Japanese, however, were not long in discovering that, however useless and worthless for home consumption, they had a value for the foreign market, and the profits on the later shipments were very speedily diminished from the rise in price.

Some twenty or thirty thousand piculs (133 lbs. each)

had been shipped to the end of 1861. But the rags were mostly coloured and nearly all cotton;—and, although the British shippers, who chiefly entered into this business, showed no little ingenuity and energy, both in finding means to discharge the colour (always vegetable), and in the invention of a press to screw the contents of each bale into smaller compass, I believe the calculations made were not borne out by the results. It was supposed that these rags could be laid down in England at about 12*l.* per ton, and would fetch 18*l.*, or something like 50 per cent. profit; rags in England varying in value from 10*l.* to 35*l.* per ton. As the Japanese make little or no use of their rags, and are almost exclusively clothed in cotton, this, it was hoped, might become an article of export of some little importance, though not very large in money value. I know it was expected that 25,000 piculs could be sent away from Yokohama alone, at about $1 50c. the picul. The out-turn of the first venture was such, however, as to discourage all enterprise in this direction; the colouring matter, and means taken for its discharge, being alleged as the chief cause of failure.

As to the kind of bark used, and the processes by which it is converted into such an infinite variety of paper—sixty-seven different kinds, I have elsewhere mentioned, were sent to the Exhibition, exclusive of a large number of imitation leathers, all made from the same materials—I find Kœmpfer has given a very detailed description, gathered from native sources, and describes the shrubs botanically, with carefully executed plates. Mr. J. Veitch also supplied me with some botanical notes in reference to the paper; but, on comparing the two, there seems some difference of opinion or information. Kœmpfer says the paper in Japan is made of the *Morus papyrifera sativa*, or true 'paper tree' (a kind of mulberry), with the addition of a sliny infusion of rice and also of the *Oreni* root; and sometimes, as a substitute for the latter, they make use of a creeping shrub called '*Sane Kadsura*, the leaves whereof yield a

mucilage in great plenty,' as also of the *Papyrus legitima*; and he gives carefully-engraved plates of both, with a minute description of the plants.

Mr. Veitch describes the paper-tree of Japan as the *Morus*, or *Broussonetia papyrifera*, and also tells me he has found two other plants grown in the district of Yeddo for paper-making — namely, a *Buddled* species and the *Hibiscus*. It seems probable there are many more trees and shrubs, the bark of which would answer the same purpose,—perhaps, equally well. With us at home it is no doubt a question of *cost* in reducing the raw material to the pulpy state proper for paper-making. The bamboo, in China, almost exclusively supplies the material for all Chinese paper,—known so long among artists and copper-plate printers as 'Indian paper,' the first importations having been made in the East India Company's ships. This is excellent in its kind, and much prized for artistic purposes—proof impressions, mounting of drawings, &c., but it is wholly wanting in the *toughness* or *tenacity* of the Japanese. As to the processes of manufacture, these, like almost everything else in Japan, are simple in the extreme,—and, if expensive, they could only be so in the article of labour. A more elaborate description, and, as far as I can judge, a very accurate one, may be read in Kœmpfer; and a third will also be found in Mr. Veitch's botanical notes, which he has kindly permitted me to add in the Appendix. But the following I gleaned myself on the spot. It appeared three several trees were laid under contribution to furnish the materials, severally called in Japanese *Ganpi*, *Mitsoo-mata* and *Tamo*. The first is the staple or foundation, a shrub growing some eight feet high, a few miles from Atami. The bark of this is stripped off, dried, and then, when the season arrives (winter is best), it is steeped in water until the outer green layer can be scraped off, and then the bark thus stripped is boiled in ley until it is softened like a vegetable for eating; after which it is beaten with two clubs until it is reduced to a state of pulp, or at least ready to become pulp with a farther immersion. A

second bark is then added, apparently of a larger tree, stripped also of the outer husk, to give toughness — the *Tamo*; and a third, the *Mitsoo-mata*, to make it glutinous, or to size it. When all these ingredients are brought into a state of fine liquid pulp, and well mixed, it is made into sheets of paper by being spread, in a perfectly liquid shape, over frames of matting very like our wire frames, and answering precisely the same purpose. They make it at Atami of five colours; the landlord brought me a large bundle of each as a specimen, which I sent to the Exhibition. It is sold at six cash a sheet, or, say four for a farthing, each sheet about the size of large quarto letter paper. I fancy Japan is rich in fibrous textures derived from the vegetable kingdom, all turned to the same use; but my informant seemed to know only his own branch of the business,—or else Matabé's powers of interpretation were exhausted.

Having tried in vain while here, to obtain any reliable information about the tenure of the houses and land, I was compelled to draw my own conclusions. The land seemed for the most part to be in very small allotments, and to furnish only one of the occupations and means of subsistence of each household: the fisherman's net, the turner's lathe, and a little shopkeeping, all alternating with the ploughman's and farmer's toil. A more primitive or easily-satisfied population I never lived among; and I doubt whether twenty of the whole number ever leave their sea-girt home, with its mountain-barriers, from the beginning to the end of their lives. But the absence of all active curiosity, or desire for change, is not peculiar to them. I once sat by the chimney of a peasant's hut, in the plains of *Castilia la vieja* (Old Castile), not twenty miles from the great cathedral town of Burgos—with all its glories of gothic architecture — and on asking him what he thought of it, was amused to hear he had never been there—though his hair was as white as the snow that covered those bleak plains. Before railroads came into play, many similar cases might no doubt have been

found in England also. For the most part, the desire for change of scene, comes only with opportunity and habit. Those who have wandered once away from home, are seldom content to remain there, without change, for the rest of their lives. The desire for travel, like so many other of our appetites (if not all), grows by what it feeds upon; and the natural food once obtained, more is inevitably desired; though many live a life through without experiencing the want.

Thus moralising as I wandered day by day through the valley and its hamlets — peopled with successive generations of men and women, and a plentiful progeny of children, leaving no doubt of the perpetuation of the species, all born with immortal souls,—in outward lineament, too, how like,—and yet, in all that constitutes the difference between man and man, how strangely and utterly dissimilar to many of their kind in Europe! — I used to find myself speculating on the causes of such wide divergence, and the consequences. Compare the existence which one of these villagers leads — which all lead from age to age,—with the life just closed, in a man like Cavour. Are they all born with the same feelings, wants, and capacities? There was something of a sepulchral or catacomb character about the very streets, and in the features of houses, temples, and tombstones—all promiscuously mingled; mementoes of a past which had no future — a Pompeii, without its interest or its history. Yet they lead, to all appearance, a happy life enough, after a fashion of their own, these same villagers — as the mole and the oyster in their respective elements may be happy. There cannot be much ebb and flow in their lives, and no swift current ever bears them onward to new shores or experiences. All who are happy, are *not* equally happy, as Johnson observed. The peasant and the king, the fisherman and the philosopher, may be equally satisfied with their lot, but not equally happy—if happiness be truly defined as consisting in the multiplicity of agreeable impressions, or the vividness and intensity of

a conscious sense of *being* and *enjoyment*. The peasant and the philosopher have not equal capacities for happiness, in this sense. 'A small drinking glass and a large one may be equally full, but a large one holds more than the small;' and though Channing may be perfectly right in saying no man, be he emperor or peasant, can have

ATAMI AND ITS MONUMENTS

more enjoyment than will lie between the crown of his head and the sole of his foot,—the difference in *amount* and *kind*, in different organisations and degrees of developement, must be almost infinite.

But it is not the inequality of enjoyment (everywhere so constant, even in the highest civilisation) which strikes an observer so much,—as the certain and continuous inequality of developement. This is a transitory life and a probationary one—the preparation and preface only to another. That much should be imperfect or fragmentary we can readily conceive. But what of the inequality that dwarfs developement and all perfecting process—which

makes a race of *cretins* by the side of a nation of philosophers, statesmen, poets, artists; and, as they were born,—so leaves them to die? And so from generation to generation, to perpetuate their race, and reappear to run the same sad, hopeless, seemingly aimless destiny! Idolaters, Pagans—with capacities undeveloped, germs left dormant, and a dead level of existence, just one

LIFE AT ATAMI—(A PEASANT AND HIS WIFE RETURNING FROM LABOUR)

degree above the beasts that perish—no hope, no faith in a future and a better life! How are such inequalities as these, inexorably reproduced *in seculos seculorum*, from the earliest days of the human race, to be blended into any system of Divine government which *we* can conceive?

It was time I left Atami, when such problems as these

suggested themselves for solution. But before I took my departure, I found that man's ingenuity in torturing himself for some fancied good or evil, was not without its example among my friends here, however primitive their habits and low their estimate of the things really needful to life and happiness, for I found a manufactory of *Moxas* in full play. Now the Moxa is a pleasant and ingenious device for burning a hole in a man's skin, not wholly unknown to the Faculty in Europe, but the honour of invention and love for its application lie, I believe, exclusively with Japan. With us the art, moreover, is entirely monopolised by physicians and surgeons; whereas every Japanese has it in his own hands as a household remedy. For the uninitiated I may say, that the cauterising tinder is made from the pith of a tree of which I procured a branch. Kœmpfer describes it as the common mugwort, *Artemisia vulgaris latifolia*, but he says the *leaves* only are used; I was told the pith and the bark, dried, rubbed to powder, and then put up in neat little squares attached to paper. When wanted for use one of these is taken out and placed on a little circular layer of powdered charcoal which is ignited. The Japanese seem strangely addicted to its use. This and the acupuncture,—another agreeable invention, common I believe to Japan and to China, and used 'to discuss and expel all manner of winds and vapours,'—the cause of nearly all distempers, according to the learned, from Hippocrates to the last Japanese sage. At their own free choice most of the natives undergo the operation, at least once every spring, as a preventive measure; and it is rare to see a man stripped, without finding a long row of scars, burned in on each side the spine at an inch or two apart. It seems to be considered a universal specific,—even the accoucheur calls in its aid, and is directed to burn 'three cones on the little toe of the right foot to facilitate delivery!'

One day I saw an infant held across its mother's knee, while another woman, quite remorselessly, was burning two or three of these pleasant pastiles about the umbilical

region, to the great discomfiture of the unhappy little patient, as may well be imagined; who protested vehemently, with throat and legs, but all in vain, against the practice.

Although occasionally resorted to by our surgeons, and with good effect it is said, in some obscure neuralgic and paralytic cases,—it has never been in great vogue with us. Kœmpfer tells a story of the Japanese, *apropos* to this practice, too good to be lost. The first two or three cones are applied successively in order to burn through the skin, and these are called *kawakiri*; new taxes laid on them by their Princes or Government are called '*kawakiri*' also, because 'they are very hard to be borne at first, but become much easier in time.' If this be true of taxes in the experience of the Japanese, it should afford great encouragement to our future Chancellors of the Exchequer to lay on boldly the shilling income-tax, so constantly referred to as a pleasant round sum — though many of the lieges would, no doubt, regard it as a *kawakiri*—a skin-cutter, and 'hard to be borne at first;'—but then, if it should become much easier in time, that might bring consolation!

Whatever may be the experience of the Japanese population in the way of taxation, I adhere to the idea that it is not of a very onerous or grinding character upon the whole;—and at the close of this, my first expedition into the interior, recalling all the evidences that met my eye of a happy contented-looking peasantry, I was not disposed to think Kœmpfer so far wrong when he concluded his history of Japan, nearly two centuries ago, by declaring that 'their country was never in a happier condition than it now is, governed by an arbitrary monarch, shut up and kept from all commerce and communication with foreign nations.' Whether, a century hence, the descendants of this generation which has seen the inauguration of renewed relations, commercial and political, may be able to point to a higher and better civilisation, with an equal developement of material prosperity and national content — as

seems everywhere apparent now — and rejoice in the result as a consequence of foreign relations,— is another problem for time to solve. But that such progress will not be achieved without fundamental changes—and great disturbance to all existing institutions and relations of the people to their rulers, seems very certain. Happy will it be, if a frequent resort to preventive and curative processes be not required, compared to which the skin-cutting of the *kawakiri* will be mild indeed. We need not, at all events, be surprised if the rulers and the ruled should alike show great repugnance at first to the initiative steps,—and look upon all foreign nations, much as patients regard their doctors, with an instinctive anticipation of something both

THE VILLAGE AQUEDUCT

dangerous and disagreeable necessarily following their introduction into the house — some medicines bitter to the taste and hard to swallow, however benevolent the practitioners,—if not scarifications and cauteries painful in anticipation, and still worse in experience, however determined or skilful the operator.

My last walk through Atami ended in my sketching a very primitive, but no less characteristic, aqueduct, in one of the streets, constructed of bamboo; to spare the labour of the good wives in fetching water. Here they came, each with their little tub, to wash the clothes; and never being at a loss for hot water (out of the great cauldron under their feet) they spared both labour and soap, with the farther advantage of breathing the fresh air, and enjoying a gossip with their neighbours. Often, as I

RETURNING FROM SEA-FISHING

returned towards the sea beach, I was met by groups of fishermen, with their wives and children — the wife suckling her baby, and carrying the fish; the father loaded only with some light fishing-tackle: while his elder child would follow in the wake, with a victimised tortoise for his play-fellow.

Of the geographical characters I can give little information. The soil under cultivation in all the valleys seems to be similar to that observable in tracts of Central India, called 'black or cotton soil;'—a rich earth, the detritus of igneous rocks probably, further fertilised during a long succession of centuries by the liquid manure from towns. Riding along the road it may be seen several feet in depth, richer-looking than any garden mould, and without a stone. Indeed, in all the country adjacent to the capital, more varied in form and character, and rich in picturesque features, than the vicinity of any capital I have ever seen, can boast of, it is a saying that 'stones and gold are equally scarce.' Yet with all this apparent richness, and careful culture, there is a sad deficiency of flavour and delicacy in everything it produces, except rice, which is excellent—'the richest and fattest in the world,' according to Kœmpfer.

At last, the resources of the place and our own patience being alike exhausted, early one morning, towards the end of September, we took our departure, and started for Odowara, on our way back to Yeddo. Our road lay along the coast, fair and pleasant to the eye, but hard to travel, for man and horse! The same careful culture and abundance of timber were everywhere observable. The following day brought us to Foodisawa, along five leagues of a level and sanded avenue, still coasting the sea shore. We were ferried across two rivers, and passed a dead man on the road — evidently a beggar; so destitution does exist, however rare, and men die on the high roads—at least this one instance seemed to show such things were, even in Japan, though somebody has said or written there were no beggars in Japan. Beggars there certainly are, and in and about the capital in considerable numbers; but they are very far from being either so numerous, or so frequently to be seen at the point of starvation, as in the neighbouring country of China.

The third day a continuance of the same beautiful road led us to Totsooka — then a sharp ride of five leagues, before breakfast, into Kanagawa, and the journey was over.

A JAPANESE TRAVELLING

CHAPTER XXII.

THE HIGH ROAD TO THE CAPITAL, AND THOSE WHO TRAVEL ON IT.

THERE is an arrangement in this country already alluded to, by which certain high roads, the great arteries of the empire, leading to and from Miaco and Yeddo, are made imperial property. These may both be considered capitals, since the Mikado, the titular Emperor, resides at the one, and the Tycoon, the virtual Sovereign, at the other. The roads between these and from them, to the other imperial cities on the coast, although passing through the domains of the several Daimios, are in no sense considered as a part of their territories, or under their jurisdiction. A very needful reservation obviously, where these feudal Princes exercise within their own territories a sovereign sway, as otherwise they could stop all traffic and communication throughout the empire. Or, what would be just as prejudicial, and to Western Powers peculiarly adverse, levy a tax *in transitu* upon produce, as did our barons of yore in the good old times, and so arrest all developement of trade.

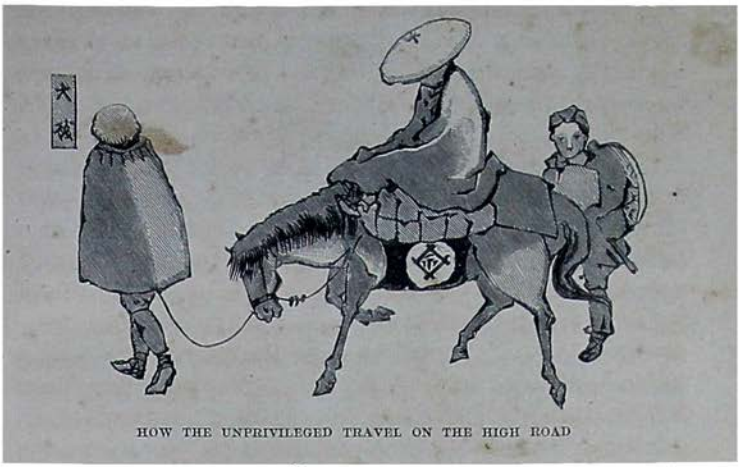
Along this Tocado, or Imperial road, lies the way to Yeddo, from the consular port of Kanagawa: and although with short intervals, the road on both sides of the whole distance is lined with houses and shops only one or two deep, and now and then clustering into a little township, much as from Hounslow to London,—yet Kanagawa proper ends about a mile and a half from where it begins, and each succeeding hamlet has its own name. Kanagawa, before it was made a consular port, was a place of some importance, as a resting-station for travellers, and the Daimios

more especially proceeding to and from the capital with a large following of retainers; being just a day's journey, at the usual rate of travelling, or seventeen miles. Accordingly, every second house in Kanagawa is either a tea-house, or an establishment for the letting of horses, cangos, norimons and bearers, to carry the two latter vehicles.

The whole road is a scene of constant traffic. Pack-horses, and porters of luggage — travellers of the lower classes are here, in cangos with two bearers going at a swinging trot whenever they are entering a place — travellers of a higher order, male or female, in norimons, carried by four bearers, and going much more deliberately, as becomes the dignity of superior rank. This is not a country in which men of this generation may ever hope for the luxury of express trains, nor is time, apparently, estimated as a valuable commodity; hence, everything to be done, whether it be a journey, a bargain, or the transaction of any other business, is apt to be intolerably tedious.

From one of these hostelries our horses have to be hired. The bargain is made at a most extortionate rate, and we are to pay ten itziboos, or more than three dollars, for a sorry brute, the cost price of which to a Japanese is not more than ten or twenty dollars, at the highest; that is, a day's use of an animal is, by this kind of tariff (adjusted for foreigners), equal to a seven days' purchase. The true price is from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* per diem; but such is the unconscionable extortion to which strangers are exposed. Travellers, when mounted, are accompanied by a man for each horse to bring it back, and seated on a high-peaked saddle with a sort of Turkish stirrup, in which the whole foot rests, the knees being brought to a right angle with the body. Here is a faithful picture of one of the humbler classes of travellers, mounted on a pack-saddle,—the crest or monogram of the owner being stamped on the broad belly-band of cloth to protect the horse from the gadflies. Thus equipped, if neither

provided with horse nor saddle of your own, you set off trusting in Providence to arrive before dark, with some



HOW THE UNPRIVILEGED TRAVEL ON THE HIGH ROAD

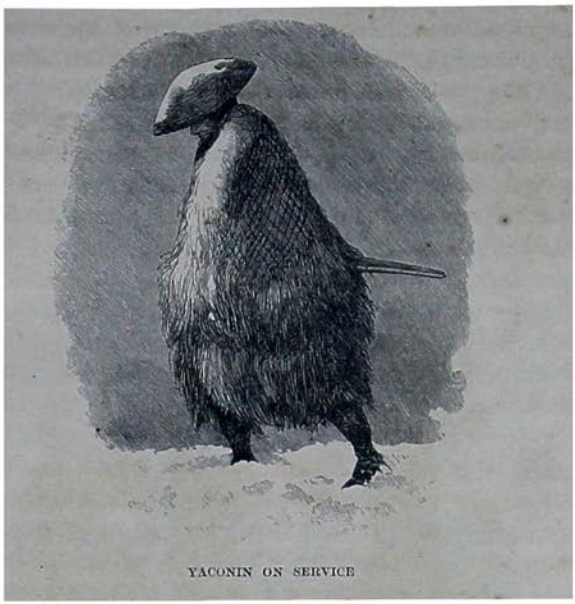
skin left on your bones. The road, for the most part, is good—broad and level—but here and there macadamising is wofully wanted, one half the road rising in perilous abruptness, one or two feet higher than the lower edge. And in wet weather, the road which forms the main street through the town of Kanagawa itself, becomes a perfect quagmire. What the great Daimios do on such occasions I cannot say. It is true in fine weather, when the whole road is tolerably clean, portions may be seen nicely swept and sanded for their high mightinesses to pass smoothly along; but the slough of despond to which all Kanagawa is reduced for days together, is far past sweeping or sanding either! And neither Kœmpfer nor Thunberg, who tell us so much of the delectable state of the Japanese roads, have thrown any light on this part of the problem, or even hinted at its existence. In justice be it said, this state of road is not common in Japan—how it comes to be so, more especially near the capital of the Tycoon, and even in Yeddo itself, is difficult to understand, unless upon the principle involved in the proverbial saying—'The nearer the church the farther from heaven.'

Slowly we wend our way among horse and foot — men and women, children and dogs. The traffic seems to be great, and the travellers are of all classes. Through the streets of the town it requires very good steering amidst the light heels of the pack-horses, the blocking-up of the passage by their loads, the gangs of coolies, and a constant stream of pedestrians and wayfarers of every denomination. Now it is a band of strolling musicians, who make up in noise and discord — as sometimes do greater professors — what they want in music and melody.

ITINERANT MUSICIANS

Following them is a yaconin, ploughing his way through the snow, which, by a rare chance, has fallen somewhat thickly during the morning. He is protected from the inclemency of the weather by a cloak of split reeds—

light, warm, and nearly waterproof, with the farther advantage of being cheap: I thought it well worth a



YACONIN ON SERVICE

place in the collection at the International Exhibition. Here come two coolies, heavily charged, vociferating to us to get out of their way. They may be the scullions of the petty officer we passed a few minutes ago, and who deems himself vastly superior in his own land to any desecrating foreigner! I once met a train of coolies carrying the heavy baggage of some courtier from Miaco, who took up the middle of the road, and called out fiercely, '*Shĭtanĭrio!*' (Down on your knees!) But here comes a train of the Daimio himself,—let us ride single file, and leave ample room,—do what we may, in fact, to pass unchallenged and unmolested—if possible! No one can count with any certainty on success. First, are two not very reputable-looking runners, whose business it is to clear the road with the all-potent word which commands prostration,—well, we cannot prostrate

ourselves, notwithstanding that imperious gest and truculent look. Now come some avant-couriers of a higher class, and behind them are the spearmen and personal officers of the noble. See how they eye us, and say if you think they are safe people to meet where they are a hundred to one, and are assured of immunity if they fall upon you and murder you on the spot? There, thank God and be grateful — they have neither drawn upon, nor even pushed us into the kennel, as they evidently felt more than half inclined to do ;—pray that you meet no more to-day, for you may be less fortunate if compelled to run the gauntlet a second time. What! you think this unpleasant ; — learn that this is the tenure on which foreigners hold all their rights and privileges under treaty in Japan — the chance of being slain in the high road for no other offence than that of being there—where

ON THE ROAD TO YEDDO RETURNING FROM MARKET

your presence is not desired.* But here are more peaceable people, from whom there is nothing to be feared,—

* The truth of these observations has received a sad illustration in the last act of butchery perpetrated on a party of foreigners riding on this very high road — in which one was slain and two were grievously wounded.

the *un*privileged classes, unprivileged to kill or to plunder — civilians, merchants, shopkeepers, peasants — all as harmless and well-disposed people as can well be found in any country in the world. Here is one peasant going home with his marketing, and another slowly toiling on foot to the capital. After him a couple of fishermen going to their boats, with a kilt or something which does duty for one, and much the same pattern, only

FISHERMEN

economically made of reeds. Approaching us is one of those remarkable figures said to be often disgraced officers, whose face is quite concealed under a sort of broad, deep-rimmed basket, for a hat,—evidently too common a sight to attract attention, for the servant is passing him without a glance. Take care! we have a blind man here. 'How well he is dressed?' 'Certainly; he is no beggar, but

well to do, and therefore dressed like a gentleman,—but blind not the less, and feeling his way, while the

THE BLIND GENTLEMAN

peasant girl is watching to see he comes by no harm from our horses.' 'Is blindness very common?' Yes—no! It must always be common where there are no good oculists. Even in our own land, thousands lose their sight annually by bad surgery, or the want of good treatment, such as those only who have made diseases of the eye and their treatment a speciality, can supply. But otherwise, I do not think either diseases of the eye or blindness unusually frequent, judging by what one can see, though one often hears the contrary asserted. It might be expected, I admit also; for not only their knowledge of ophthalmic surgery must be on

a par with the rest of their surgery, and very bad; but the practice which prevails among the people of having their eyelids daily turned inside out — of which you may see an example as you pass that barber's shop — and then rubbed over, titillated, and polished by a smooth copper spatula, must, I should think, be eminently conducive to disease of one sort or other. Here we come to a wayside hostelry, and see that picture of zeal in a female ostler, who

A FEMALE OSTLER

is hurrying, with well-poised body and a pail of water, to refresh the horses' mouths; while, on the other side, tea is offered in cups of dainty porcelain, thin as an egg-shell.

Now we are leaving the great congress of tea-houses behind — the inns and hotels of the Japanese offering everything that a Japanese traveller can desire, food, drink, shelter — a clean-matted floor, a look-out on a little garden, or here, still better, over the bay. But, even if we may have all this, we know we cannot have a table, or a chair, or a bed, — nor a mutton-chop, nor a cup of milk, nor a loaf of bread, for the simple reason that all these things are to

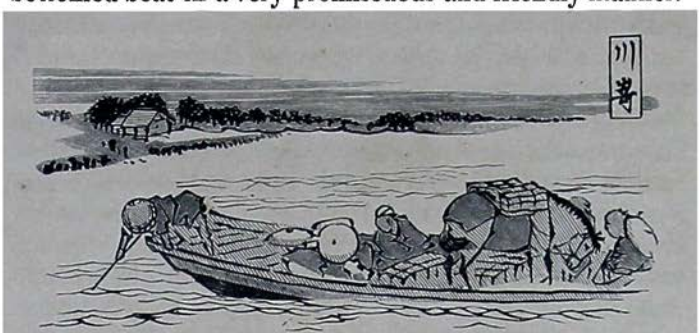
the Japanese unknown, or ignored as superfluities. And if you are a man of rank, still more if a foreigner, be prepared with a long purse and kobangs 'galore;' for, if we are to believe the Japanese themselves, long bills follow the shortest sojourn in these terrestrial paradises.* The shops, as we pass, do not present a very inviting appearance. For the most part, they are little better than road-side booths or stalls, offering for sale children's toys, having a marvellous family likeness with those of Europe—windmills, stuffed animals on wheels, tops, battledores and shuttlecocks. Here are others with cooked eatables; beyond, a shop with false toupées or wigs, umbrellas and hats, baskets, rain-cloaks and horse-shoes of straw, form the staple articles, all under one roof, the material being the same for most of them. Thus it happens that a Japanese equipped for a journey looks as if he had taken the cover of a basket for his head-gear, a wisp of straw for his cloak, and a portion of another for his sandals. These, with a few of the ordinary village crafts, fill up the straggling line of houses. Once merged out of a bourg or township, we come upon a broad road lined with trees, giving pleasant glimpses of the wide bay of Yeddo between their branches, and the distant line of hills on the opposite shore. The trees yield a grateful shade even at this time of the year, the depth of winter—the sun in the middle of the day having still much power; but the pine and even the cryptomeria, of which the trees here chiefly consist, are not the best adapted for this purpose. On both sides, but chiefly inland, are fields of grain and vegetables, those devoted to paddy now lying fallow; while the stork and wild fowl have undisturbed possession, and cover the ground.

After a seven-mile ride along the road which skirts the bay, the traveller from Kanagawa comes to the river

* This *may* be so in the case of Daimios, but not as regards travellers generally, as I had means of ascertaining in my long journeys. The charges are very moderate, and to all the Tycoon's officers and employés one-third less than to others, by law established.

Logo, the boundary of the limits within which foreigners may travel or wander for their pleasure from that place without a passport. Here is a police station, and a passport is rigorously demanded for any foreigner seeking to pass the ferry.

A few minutes suffice to ferry man and horse across—gratis, if in the employment of the government. The horses take to it kindly as you see, and horse, baggage, men, and women, all stand or squat together in the flat-bottomed boat in a very promiscuous and friendly manner.



PASSING THE RIVER.

And now as we approach the capital the traffic along the road increases: here is a family of the poorer class, apparently with all their worldly goods, leaving the city—the wife and her child are doubled up in a cango, protected from the drizzling rain by an oiled-paper roof and apron—the husband and one or two boys, with a porter, carrying heavier baggage, follow. Two or three men succeed these—common soldiers, possibly, for they have one sword, and not so fierce a look as some of their two-sworded fraternity—while a white hood drawn under the chin and covering the lower part of the mouth, half masks the whole face, and gives them something of the look of 'men at arms' in the days of the Templars. Here is a Norimon with two children placed knee to knee opposite each other vis à vis, with powdered and painted faces, dressed so as exactly to represent two huge Dutch

dolls. This mania of the Japanese for painting and powdering their skins with flour, makes them hideous, with Art for the disfigurer. Now and then one meets a Japanese maiden with a clean-washed face and unstained teeth, neither wanting in comeliness nor intelligence; but such visions are indeed 'few and far between.' Of the *ladies* of Japan no chance passenger can speak; they are never visible to a stranger, and it yet remains to be seen whether the barrier now existing will ever be removed. One of the oldest residents in Japan, at Nagasaki, and well placed for successful effort, once made the attempt with an official in intimate and cordial relations, but he was assured that compliance would inevitably bring disgrace upon him and all his family. I cannot help thinking some rather erroneous notions have been disseminated by the writers on Japan in respect to the position and relations of the wife here. That she may be more of a companion to her husband, and on a greater footing of equality than in other Eastern countries, is possible; but she is as strictly forbidden by the laws and customs of the country from entering into society, or being seen by any but those of her own family, as any inmate of a harem. When travelling, or passing from house to house, it is always in a norimon hermetically closed and surrounded by her husband's attendants: I speak of the upper classes—the lower and working orders here as elsewhere, by the necessity of labour, cannot be shut up.

The distance shortens to Yeddo, and the journey promises to be uneventful. Here comes the only element of mischief in the shape of some roystering evil-eyed and double-sworded retainers of a Daimio. There are three or four of them all mounted, with the Prince of Satsuma's cognisance on their sleeves; and now they see us — keep your horse well in hand — for here the two foremost come, at headlong speed. 'Will they ride us down?' 'Cannot possibly say; but if not, they will go very near — keep a steady hand and a quick eye.' There — they have passed, only brushing our stirrups—bent on showing

dash of defiance to the Giaour, for to this class adopting the feelings of their masters, as we must suppose, we are all dogs of Christians and aliens—hateful in both characters. It was reported of Count Mouravieff, when at Yeddo, that among the complimentary phrases which form a necessary prelude to business in the East, on the occasion of his visit to some of the ministers, he spoke in congratulatory terms of the new and pacific relations now established with all the great maritime Powers of the West, to which the Minister responded with an amount of truth and sincerity, which could only be accounted for on the preacher's wise saying, that 'out of the fullness of the heart the tongue speaketh.' 'You congratulate us,' was the reply, 'on the new relations now established, but these have hitherto only been to us sources of trouble and vexation—each day bringing forth some new cause of anxiety, or some new complaint on the part of foreigners.' What might be the rejoinder, report does not tell—but there was an answer, a true answer, it were a pity not to have given, even though it might have brought no immediate conviction. Sources of complaint, of vexation to the authorities and anxiety on both sides, have indeed been plentiful; but chiefly, if not solely due to the bad faith and shuffling of officials, unwilling to give execution to the plainest provisions of treaties, and not as the ministers evidently would have it inferred, to the unreasonable exigencies of foreigners, though these may not always be faultless either. Those first arriving as pioneers in a far Eastern country, are not generally the most refined or select specimens of their class or nation.

And now we approach Sinagawa—the great suburb immediately before Yeddo itself, already more than once referred to. Here at night the whole road is an illumination of lanthorns, with frequenters of the numerous tea-houses and places of entertainment situated here, passing to and fro. The two-sworded men on foot, and in norimons, block up the way, and woe betide any luckless man of the inferior class who comes across their path;—

for after eight o'clock the saki is in, and the wit is out, and any discretion with it—which, in more lucid moments, the race of swashbucklers may boast. Their hand is often on the hilt of their sharp-edged sword, and always in unpleasant proximity. It is not yet the dangerous hour, so we shall probably pass unmolested.

The suburb of Sinagawa, of evil repute, is passed, and now the bay opposite Yeddo with its line of forts opens once more upon us, a few refreshment-booths alone interposing; while inland, is a great barrack with closed gates — powder magazines; and opposite a newly-formed battery, to protect the shore at this point. Two others are being built upon the shallows there, so as completely to cover the approach to Yeddo on the water side, by a whole line of batteries armed with guns. In the barracks to our left, and at many of the Daimios' residences, the noise of musket-practice may be heard. It looks very warlike, and whether it be merely the result of a mistrust in the pacific intentions of Foreign Powers generally, or any one in particular;—or intended to impose on the diplomatic agents now residing in the capital, by daily evidence of a state of preparation for battle;—or whether, finally, it be the result of a foregone conclusion, that, sooner or later, collision is inevitable, or will be made so by them, if not by us, and that they may be prepared for such a contingency, I have already said, no one is in a position to speak very positively. But all these notes of preparation for battle are sufficiently remarkable, and significant. Here we arrive safe from all dangers of the road, only, 'ware horses!' They are all vicious brutes—stallions ever ready to kick and bite. There! you are lucky that brute, relieved of his pack and carelessly led, has only left the mark of his hind hoof on your saddle-cloth; six inches farther forward, and it might have broken your thigh. Let it be a warning to you on a Japanese road, to give a wide berth to the whole race of pack-horses, and a good eye on every other, or you will certainly be rolled in the dust some day. That is a warning for *you*,— and if you look back you will see the

groom is giving a warning to the owner of the pack-horse, to keep a more respectful distance another time. 'But he will hurt him.' 'Well, I hope he will, a little;' but do not be the least alarmed, for first observe the man makes not the least resistance, so conscious is he that he is only meeting his deserts; and next, that the cudgel with which he is being belaboured, is only the umbrella I bought on the road, made of light bamboo and oil-paper; which most assuredly will come out of the fray with much more serious damage than the man's head.

And so ends our journey to Yeddo, and the panorama of the high road. — *Saionara!* the salutation of the Japanese, loses nothing in softness by contrast either with the French adieu, or the Italian addio; while the elaborate courtesy of the horsekeeper and my servant there, distance anything you or I can attempt in the same line.

'SAIONARA'

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 05 October, 2018